

**THE QUEST FOR BEING PUBLIC CHURCH: A STUDY OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN MORAVIAN CHURCH IN HISTORICAL AND
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This study falls within the area of Missional theology, which is a functional theology. As such, it deals with the function (praxis) and mission of the Church in society. It seeks a better understanding of the functionality of the Church fundamental to the *Missio Dei*. Since Missional Theology is about the Church's serving function to the community, these functions, viz. mission, proclamation, fellowship, education, growth, habitual change and transformation, are brought to bear on the image of the Moravian Church.

Because this study concerns the being and public witness of the Church, it adopted a qualitative approach linked to participatory action research. The research was done diachronically and phenomena were analysed over three periods in the formation of the MCSA: (a) The Missionary era (1737 – 1960), (b) the autonomous Church under apartheid (1960 – 1994) and (c) challenges of the democratic dispensation for the United MCSA and its future role in the RSA (1994 and further).

Drawing upon these resources, Chapters 3 – 5 examine (based on the epistemological framework designed in Chapter 2) the values, symbols and conceptions of the Moravian Ecclesiastical community in relation to its internal and external environment. It also examines its structures and polity in order to come to a critical understanding of its disposition as a faith community in its interaction with public life.

Four presuppositions are established as core principles:

The first core principle is that the Moravian Church in SA (MCSA), in its quest for being a public Church, had to act true to its calling as the divine proponent of the reconciled, transformed humanity. The MCSA also had to serve (prophetically and sacrificially) a “broken” society with a view to its transformation, which is essentially its missional quality.

The second core principle is that the MCSA in its tendency towards being a public Church had to conform to the theological principles of a public Church. In Chapter 2, based on the three identified *publics* in which the Church (theology) operates, four relations are applied, i.e. the Church in relation to the State; the Church in relation to market economy; the Church and people's empowerment; and the Church and public values – the quality of human life. Subsequently these configurations of the Church are used to design an epistemological framework according to which the public role of the MCSA throughout its history was established.

The third core principle is that the Church, given its context, had to act according to the challenges and needs of that context. The historical analysis of the MCSA helped to establish how it contributed to the public discourse within those contexts. However, in order to establish how it could contribute in future, the MCSA was evaluated according to a reasonable, contemporary social contextual analysis (in chapter 7), which was imperative.

In Chapter 7, **the fourth core principle** is developed as the outcome of the investigation in the preceding chapters. In order to be an adequate public Church, the MCSA had to harness the potential of its members by training them, equipping them for justice ministry, which would provide the Church with the much-neglected public ministry. Based on the historical findings, guidelines were designed to assist the church in training its ministers and congregations for public witness.

There is no simple shortcut formula for developing an effective congregational-based public (advocacy) ministry. It requires the congregation to be bold in its vision, committed to its mission, willing to give significant time, energy and resources, to be a risk taker, and to work in partnership with its larger community (macro environment). Most of all, it requires faith in the knowledge that God's righteousness and justice will prevail. The most practical advice is spiritual – to live the belief that justice is central to our calling as Christ's witness in the world – even in the public arena!

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie val binne die area van Missionêre Teologie wat 'n funksionele teologie is. As sulks het dit te doen met die funksie (praxis) en missie van die kerk in die samelewing. Dit poog om die kerk se funksionaliteit fundamenteel tot die *Missio Dei* te verstaan. Terwyl Missionêre Teologie gaan oor die kerk se dienaarsrol in die samelewing, is die volgende funksies, t.w. sending, getuienis en proklamasie, gemeenskap, opvoeding, groei, gewoontes verandering en transformasie toegepas op die beeld van die Morawiese Kerk in Suid-Afrika.

Weens die feit dat hierdie studie te make het met die wese en publieke getuienis van die kerk, het dit 'n kwalitatiewe benadering aangeneem wat noodsaaklikerwys gekoppel is aan deelnemende aksie navorsing.

Die navorsing is diakronies gedoen en fenomene is oor drie periodes in die formasie van die Morawiese Kerk geanaliseer:

(a) Die sendingperiode (1737-1960), (b) die outonome Kerk onder apartheid (1960-1994) en (c) die uitdagings van die demokratiese bedeling vir die Morawiese Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die vereistes vir sy Publieke rol (1994-).

Met die informasie wat hieruit voortgevloei het, het die projek in Hoofstukke 3-5 (gebaseer op die epistemologiese raamwerk ontwerp in hoofstuk 2) die waardes, simbole en opvattinge van die kerklike gemeenskap ondersoek in verhouding tot haar interne en eksterne omgewings. Ook haar strukture en beleid is ondersoek met die doel om tot 'n kritiese verstaan te kom van haar gesitueerdheid in haar interaksie as geloofsgemeenskap met die publieke eksterne omgewing.

Vier voorveronderstellings is vasgestel as uitvloeisel van die navorsing en dien as kernbeginsels:

Die eerste kernbeginsel is dat die MKSA in sy strewe na 'n *openbare kerk*, getrou moes optree aan haar roeping as die goddelike proponent van die versoende, getransformeerde mensheid en profeties en opofferend 'n “gebroke” samelewing dien met die oog op sy transformasie, wat wesenlik die kerk se sendingsaard is.

Die tweede kernbeginsel is dat die MKSA in haar geneigdheid na 'n openbare kerk, haar moes skik (konformeer) volgens die teologiese beginsels van 'n openbare kerk. In hoofstuk 2, gebaseer op die drie geïdentifiseerde *publieke* waarbinne die kerk (teologie) haarself manifesteer, is 4 verhoudings waarin die openbare kerk staan geïdentifiseer, naamlik die kerk se verhouding tot die Staat, die mark-ekonomie, menslike bemagtiging en tot openbare waardes — die gehalte van menslike lewe. Vervolgens is hierdie gestaltes van die kerk benut om 'n epistemologiese raamwerk te ontwerp waarvolgens die openbare rol van die MKSA in haar geskiedenis blootgelê is.

Die derde kernbeginsel was dat die kerk moes optree volgens die uitdagings en behoeftes van die konteks. Die historiese analise van die MKSA het gehelp om vas te stel hoe die kerk bygedra het tot die openbare diskoers, al dan nie, in daardie kontekste. Die navorser is egter genoodsaak om die MKSA te projekteer teen 'n verantwoordelike sosiaal-kontekstuele analise in hoofstuk 7 om te kon vasstel hoe die kerk verder haar bydrae kan maak in die openbare arena.

In hoofstuk 7 was **die vierde kernbeginsel** ontwikkel as uitkoms van die navorsingsprojek in die voorafgaande hoofstukke. Dit behels dat die MKSA, om 'n genoegsame openbare kerk te wees, die potensiaal van haar lidmate moet benut deur hulle op te lei / toe te rus vir openbare bediening.

Daar is geen eenvoudige, kortpad formule vir die ontwikkeling van 'n effektiewe, gemeente-gebaseerde, openbare geregtigheidsbediening nie. Dit vereis dat die gemeente dapper moet wees in haar visie, toegewyd aan haar missie (sending), gewillig om beduidende tyd, energie, en bronne te verskaf, bereid moet wees om risiko's te neem en om in verbondsvennootskappe te werk met sy makro omgewing. Ten diepste vereis dit

geloof in die wete dat God se geregtigheid en regverdigheid sal stand hou. Die mees praktiese aanbeveling is geestelik — om in die geloof te lewe sodat regverdigheid sentraal staan tot ons roeping as Christus se getuies in die wêreld — selfs in die openbare arena!

PREFACE

It was in 1998 that I was appointed in the post of Community Development at the University of Stellenbosch as an expansion post after having studied Development Management at the Management School of Stellenbosch. This post was created to add a more social component to theological formation at that time of the DRC ministerial students' programme. In its micro-environment, Community Development deals with the needs of the people in a holistic sense. However, I quickly realized that a focus on the basic needs of people (Max-Neef) does not necessarily engage the systemic causes of poverty, or unemployment, or oppression, or disease. Multi-national business enterprises, the Structural Adjustment Programme of the World Bank, the MIF and the entropy-force of Globalization were the new global forces that were making a severe impact on the economies of Third World countries. Even the very noble Reconstruction and Development Programme of our country suffered under the "investment before development" pull from the center of the First World Trade. These phenomena slowly turned my interest in the direction of the role of the Church in the public arena. Although it is of paramount importance for the Church to continuously minister to the marginalised, it is exactly because of its concern and divine calling that it is of strategic importance for it to also engage the (dehumanising) powers (Walter Wink) on the macro-environmental level. The Church locally, denominationally and ecumenically needs to discern and resist these forces of domination in the world for the sake of the quality of human life.

For too long the MCSA had practiced a privatised religion due to the effects of the original sin of white domination during the 342 years of South Africa's history (Nolan). Although I hold my traditions as a Moravian very dearly, I am reminded of the struggle years and the political will of the oppressed, and I ask myself why we can not muster such a political-economic will as a Church. I know that it is a difficult road to embark on, but unless we, as the Church of the poor, organise to add our voice, contribute our resources and build partnerships in our macro-environment with a view to acquire the tactics and strategies to engage the powers, the purpose why God calls us together in the

sanctuary is lost (Jacobsen); and we will become galvanised as a church (Verkuyl) instead of being the missional church of God!

It has been a privilege and a challenge to work with my colleagues in the Faculty of Theology, especially in the Department of Practical Theology and Missiology. I enjoyed many opportunities nationally and internationally for which I am much indebted. Opportunities that took me internationally to Bochum (the Ökumenisches Studienwerk), to Utrecht and Princeton (The International Reformed Theological Institute), to Birmingham University and Berlin (Humboldt University), to Colloquium 2000 in Hofgeismar; and nationally to many schools of edification, especially in the Practical Theology Society and the NRF peer-group evaluation programme.

A number of people have contributed to the completion of this study-project and must be thanked. The University of Stellenbosch authorities that granted me study leave for a year. The Dean of Theology, Daniel Louw, and Head of department, Jurgen Hendricks, for their support and guidance throughout this time. My promoter and co-promoter, Professor Russel Botman and Professor Hannes Adonis, many thanks for your critical and professional guidance. To Professor Walter Claassen (Vice-Rector Research), Professor Johan Groenewald (Director of Research) and the personnel of the Theological Library, a special word of thanks for your various contributions. To Lorinda Spies (Faculty of Theology secretary), many thanks for the very efficient technical assistance you have given me in preparing the document for the printers. For their substantive assistance, I wish to thank Howard and Mark at the Theology Faculty.

On a personal and emotional level, a number of people have inspired and accompanied me on this academic journey and deserve my acknowledgement and gratitude. The Church Council and congregation of Belhar Moravian Church, the MCSA and the President, Angeline Swart, Gideon Cloete (Archivist), Henning and Anna Schlimm and my dialogue-partner Naas Swart.

Hereby I also recognise the assistance and support that I received from my three mentors over the years since my high school and seminary days: Bishop John Ulster, Bishop Henning Schlimm and Rev. Martin Wessels (ex-President of the MCSA and Chairman of the Unitas Fratrum).

This study is dedicated to my parents, my late father James and my mother Ellen, and my wife Blanché.

Out of Africa . . . my umbilical cord lies buried there!

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
OPSOMMING
PREFACE
CHAPTER 1.....1

INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Subject of research.....	1
1.2 Motivation.....	1
1.3 Research problem	5
1.4 Area of research.....	6
1.5 Nature of research and research hypothesis.....	10
1.6 Methodology, procedure and research design	11
1.6.1 Chapter 1.....	13
1.6.2 Chapter 2: A Theological Perspective: Meaning of the 'Public Church'.	13
1.6.3 Chapter 3: The Moravian Mission (1738 – 1816) in the context of <i>Cues Regio Eus Religio</i> (The occupant dictates the religion).....	14
1.6.4 Chapter 4. The Moravian Mission: Polity, Policy and Praxis (1816 – 1900).....	14
1.6.5 Chapter 5: The challenges in the process of the formation of an indigenous church: The Mission and the quest for autonomy (1900 – 1960).....	14
1.6.6 Chapter 6: The Moravian Church in South Africa (1960 – 2001).....	15
1.6.7 Chapter 7: The United Moravian Church and the challenges of being a Public Church within the new democratic dispensation of SA	15
1.7 Possible value of Research	16
CHAPTER 2.....	18
A THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: MEANING OF THE PUBLIC CHURCH	18
2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 Understanding the public.....	19
2.3 The Public Theology Debate	21
2.3.1 The concern	21
2.3.2 The Chicago-Yale Debate on Public Theology	24
2.4 The Church as public	28
2.4.1 The Ecclesiastical versus the monolithic political understanding	28
2.4.2 The Church as public of the Holy Spirit.....	31
2.5 The Configuration of the Church as public	32
2.6 The Third Public: Society	36
2.7 The Church as Public within the South African Context	37
2.8 The Church in relation to other publics	44
2.8.1 The Church in relation to the State.....	45
2.8.2 The Church in relation to Market Economy	47
2.8.3 The Church in relation to peoples' empowerment	50
2.8.4 The Church in relation to Public Values: the Quality of Human Life...53	

2.9	Summary.....	55
CHAPTER 3		58
THE MORAVIAN MISSION (1738 – 1815) IN THE CONTEXT OF <i>CUES REGIO EUS RELIGIO</i>		
3.1	Introduction.....	58
3.2	An historical overview of the Moravian church in respect of the MCSA (1457 – 1998).....	58
3.2.1	The origin of the Moravian Church.....	58
3.2.2	The Renewed Moravian Church.....	60
3.2.3	The South African Mission Outreach.....	62
3.2.3.1	Georg Schmidt and the beginning of the Moravian Church in South Africa.....	62
3.2.3.2	The Continuation of the Mission work under Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel.....	64
3.2.3.3	Genadendal and the expansion of the work.....	65
3.2.3.4	The Work under Hallbeck.....	66
3.2.3.5	The division of the work.....	68
3.2.4	An Autonomous Church.....	69
3.2.5	A United Church.....	71
3.3	The Moravian Ethos.....	73
3.3.1	Beliefs.....	73
3.3.2	Ritual.....	75
3.3.3	The Polity.....	77
3.3.4	Ethics.....	78
3.3.5	The regulation of property.....	81
3.3.6	The Generation of a Religious Work Ethic.....	83
3.3.7	The Division of Labour.....	85
3.4	The Moravian mission in the context of <i>ceus regio eus religio</i> : from the Dutch to the British occupation of the Cape (1737 – 1815).....	86
3.4.1	Georg Schmidt and the founding of the mission work amongst the Khoi-Khoi (1737 – 1744).....	86
3.4.1.1	The colonists and the Mission.....	98
3.4.1.2	The local church.....	98
3.4.1.3	The Classis.....	99
3.4.1.4	The Council of Seventeen and the Moravian Mission.....	100
3.4.1.5	Georg Schmidt's personality and attitude.....	101
3.4.2	The revival and continuation of the mission work at the Cape: (1744 – 1792) 1792 – 1815.....	103
3.4.2.1	The renewal by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel.....	103
3.4.2.2	Mission configuration from Kohnhammer to Rose (1798 – 1805).....	118
3.4.2.3	The encounter with the Slaves and the Bantu-speaking people (1806-1816).....	122
3.4.2.4	The Mission: Civil Authorities, Spirituality, Economy, Education and Land.....	126
3.5	Summary.....	133
CHAPTER 4		134

THE MORAVIAN MISSION: POLITY, POLICY AND PRAXIS IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS (1816 – 1900)	134
4.1 Introduction.....	134
4.2 La Trobe and the mission authority structures	135
4.2.1 The Helpers Conference	135
4.2.2 The Overseers Council	135
4.2.3 The Brotherly Agreement: The regulations ordering the life on the mission station	136
4.3 Hallbeck and the philanthropic movement	138
4.4 Crossing new frontiers: the Moravian missionary experience with the mission among the Bantu-speaking people	148
4.4.1 In the beginning.....	148
4.4.2 The cultural encounter with the Xhosa.....	150
4.4.3 The mission in relation to the government on the eastern frontier	152
4.4.4 The forum of the mission conferences.....	155
4.4.5 Review of the foundation work in the Eastern District	155
4.4.6 The division of the Moravian mission work in Southern Africa.....	158
4.5 The Moravians in two worlds: the public of the close settlement in relation to the public of the Cape society.....	159
4.5.1 The phenomenon of the mission enclaves in the public opinion.....	159
4.5.2 The public of the governor-controlled political sphere	168
4.5.3 The public of the missionary-controlled closed settlements.....	170
4.6 The challenges in the process of the formation of an indigenous church (1892 –1900).....	177
4.6.1 The impact of Synod 1869 on SA-West.....	177
4.6.2 An interpretation of the Buchner report of 1894 in view of the mission in SA-West.....	184
4.6.2.1 Property Rights	184
4.6.2.2 The finances.....	185
4.6.2.3 The Constitution	186
4.6.2.4 The SA-Fellow Workers.....	187
4.6.2.5 Ecumenical Relations	188
4.6.3 The general synod of 1899 and its effect on South Africa-West.....	191
4.7 Summary.....	194
CHAPTER 5.....	195
THE CHALLENGES IN THE PROCESS OF THE FORMATION OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH: THE MISSION FIELD AND ITS QUEST FOR AUTONOMY (1900 – 1960)	195
5.1 Introduction.....	195
5.2 SA-West: from the Anglo-Boer war to WW I.....	195
5.3 SA-West and the founding of “Die Broederkerk”: from the post-WW I Unity Synod 1919 to the post -WW II Unity Synod 1946.....	205
5.4 Die Broederkerk: from the Unity Synod of 1948 until autonomy in 1960..	210
5.5 Summary.....	214
CHAPTER 6.....	216

THE SELF-RELIANT UNIFIED MCSA IN THE PUBLIC ARENA (1960 – 2001)	216
6.1 Introduction.....	216
6.2 The Period leading up to 1960: The entrenchment of apartheid and the reaction from below.....	216
6.2.1 Political reaction from below against the apartheid system	219
6.2.2 The Church and its stance in a volatile situation.....	221
6.3 Apartheid in juxtaposition with “the ideal of a democratic and free society” (1961 – 1970).....	225
6.4 “From the lips of children” (1970 – 1980)	231
6.4.1 A nation under siege	231
6.4.2 “Children should be seen not hurt”.....	233
6.4.3 The Churches’ reaction.....	234
6.5 The ideal of “An undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship (1981 – 1994)	236
6.6 The Moravian Church and its response to apartheid	239
6.6.1 The constitutional position of the Church	239
6.6.2 The unpaid account of apartheid.....	241
6.6.3 The Welfare Work of the Broederkerk.....	245
6.6.4 An Autonomous Church needs self-reliance and self-confidence.....	247
6.6.5 The Response by the Church’s Authority Structures	255
6.6.5.1 Polity Changes: The Spirit of Emancipation	255
6.6.5.2 The Pastoral Letters	258
6.6.5.3 The Moravian Church in relation to the Ecumenical Public Witness	262
6.7 The Process of Church Union as a witness to the political transformation in South Africa.....	270
6.7.1 “Our aim toward becoming one Moravian Church in Southern Africa”	270
6.7.2 The First Provincial Synod of the One Moravian Church in South Africa	275
6.7.3 The Second Provincial Synod.....	276
6.7.4 The Cost of Church Unity.....	277
6.7.5 The Church Land Issue.....	281
6.7.5.1 Mission Stations and development.....	281
6.7.5.2 The Genadendal Accord	283
6.7.5.3 Land Claim and Land Restitution.....	286
6.8 Summary.....	290
CHAPTER 7.....	294
THE UNITED MORAVIAN CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGES OF BEING PUBLIC CHURCH WITHIN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION.....	294
7.1 Introduction.....	294
7.2 The “publicness” of the South African Moravians in history.....	295
7.2.1 The Missionary Era.....	295
7.2.1.1 The Relationship of Church and State (the third public).....	295
7.2.1.2 The Mission and Peoples’ empowerment (second and third public)	298

7.2.1.3	The Mission and Market Economy (second and third public)	300
7.2.1.4	The Mission and Public values: The quality of human life	300
7.2.2	The Autonomous Church	305
7.3	Towards a programme for public theology based on the Moravian Church profile in South Africa	313
7.3.1	Meta-orientation	313
7.3.2	Institutional disposition	315
7.3.2.1	The Commission for Christian Citizenship	315
7.3.2.2	The Commission for Town Planning and Mission Stations, in conjunction with the local Overseer Councils	315
7.3.2.3	The Department of Christian Education, Mission and Evangelism	316
7.3.3	A critique on the "conservative" role of the Church in the public arena	316
7.3.4	The Needs or Challenges of the South African Macro Environment	318
7.3.4.1	Contributing in establishing a democratic culture	318
7.3.4.2	Promoting and sustaining peace	320
7.3.4.3	Working for justice	321
7.3.4.4	Siding with (preferential option for) the poor	322
7.3.4.5	Upholding the truth: the Church's credibility and sincerity	323
7.3.5	Organising for public witness	325
7.3.5.1	Foundational elements of justice ministry	327
7.3.5.2	The Role of clergy in mobilising justice ministries	335
7.3.5.3	Congregational identity in organising for justice ministry	337
7.3.5.4	Guidelines for developing effective public witness: the Advocacy role	341
7.4	Conclusion	346
REFERENCES		347
A.	PRIMARY SOURCES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH	347
1.	Diaries & Documents	347
2.	Reports and Minutes	347
3.	Constitutions	349
4.	Pastoral Letters, Declarations and Statements	349
B.	SECONDARY SOURCES	350
ADDENDUM A: The Brotherly Agreement		362
ADDENDUM B: Structures and Organogram		366
Diagram 1: Structure of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa (1956-1975)		366
Diagram 2: Church jurisdiction of the Moravian Church (1975-1992)		367
Diagram 3: Church governing structures of the Uniting MCSA (1992-1998)		368
Diagram 4: Church governing structures of the United MCSA (since 1998)		369
Diagram 5: Organogram of the MCSA 2001-		370
ADDENDUM C: Maps		371
Map 1: Republic of South Africa since 1994		371
Map 2: Moravian Church in South Africa: subdivision into regions and districts		372
Maps 3.1-3.11: The Districts of the MCSA		373

ADDENDUM D: The portrait of the “First Fruits”	379
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Subject of research

THE QUEST FOR BEING A PUBLIC CHURCH: A STUDY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MORAVIAN CHURCH IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE.

1.2. Motivation

This research is self-initiated, inspired and motivated by all those champions of the faith (not only the white missionaries, but of equal importance, those indigenous pioneers who, since the earliest time of mission, laid themselves down like “bridges over troubled waters”¹ for the white missionaries to cross the frontiers) who critically and publicly strove to do justice to their calling – to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world.

Other sources of inspiration are the challenges and opportunities that nation building, the new democracy in South Africa and the African Renaissance are creating for the public witness of the Church in a glocal² context.

Viewed from a psycho-sociological perspective, the researcher originates from the first generation³ of native South Africans. He is a product of the Moravian Mission and is a citizen of the Elim mission settlement. The researcher’s subjective relation to the subject matter and the tradition in which he stands are therefore apparent. However, being part of the tradition under research gives the researcher a better understanding of the present

¹ This is a reference to a song by Simon and Garfunkle, 1971.

² Concept coined by Robertson, R (1992) to denote the tension between the internal forces of the context, the local and the external forces, the global.

³ Meaning a direct descendent of the aboriginal Khoi-San people of the Cape, who as the aborigines would be denoted as the ‘First Generation’; the Bantu-speaking people as the Second Generation and the Europeans as the Third Generation.

disposition of the Church, the documentation of its past and the theological values embedded in its praxis. The researcher has the experience of having been regarded as a 'non-citizen'⁴ under the Apartheid Regime, whilst still having to live his faith publicly. Not only is the researcher a Church member, he is also an indigenous minister trained by expatriates, as well as a one time Church leader serving in the executive of the Church. At the present moment the researcher is one of the presidents of Synod within the Church.

This research is a first attempt by an indigenous member of the Moravian Church to assess the measure of the contribution of the said Church, if any, to the formation and capacity-building of its adherents in empowering them to collectively and individually play a meaningful role through the Church as a "public" institution in the transformation process of the South African public and in nation-building.

What motivated the researcher's interest in the "public Church"? The researcher was inspired by Martin Marty, who coined the term "Public Church" in a book by that title in 1981. Marty's discussion stands in the spirit of Alexis de Tocqueville, who was concerned that democracy could not function without institutions mediating between the individual and the government, on the one hand, and between the individual and the masses, on the other hand. He saw voluntary associations as well as churches as critical for this kind of mediation. Marty's concerns go beyond Tocqueville's, however, to focus on the contribution churches from the Christian tradition can make to the 'ordering faith' of the public toward clarification of and care for the 'common good'⁵. This enlightening thinking about the Church revitalised the memory of its witnesses to the truth of God and awakened expectation of the possibilities of embodying the values of God's reign in the public arena and in the glocal society. In the context of the glocal society, which in its

⁴ As so-called "non-whites" all indigenous people had no franchise, were regarded as inferior to Europeans and had no direct say in the administration and body politics of the South Africa.

⁵ Marty, ME 1981. *The Public Church*. New York: Cross Road.

contemporary setting is 'Consumaristic', Technologicistic, and Pluralistic,⁶ the Church has to rediscover its being as the people called by God and bear witness to the liberating God of history.

The Moravian Church in South Africa, due to a large extent to its pietistic background, missionary polity and witness, was popularly regarded as an institution that seemingly relegates matters of religion, ethics, values and meaning to the private, personal and 'subjective' spheres of life – the so-called privatised religion, quite removed from the public, social and 'objective' patterns of living. This raises the questions of 'truth', of the ecclesiastical will and commitment of this Church to society throughout its history in the South African context.

Why does the Church need to be 'public' and how public can the church be in its being and witness? Is the extent of it being public in witnessing not dependent on the theology that informs it? In the South African political and economic setting we have become increasingly aware that theological ideas play a quite decisive role in social life.⁷ However, in a democratic society with a secular constitution one cannot take it for granted that the Church is a public witness or that its theology has a public role. But, ought the church to allow civil society to make concessions for it in order to have a public role? On what premise does the church base its conviction that it has a public role to play? Who/what are these publics? With which of these should the Church engage in dialogue in the current pluralistic society? How conversant is the Church with the needs of South African civil society? What should the contents be of the Church's public witness in South Africa today? What form should the public witness take?

Apart from outside opinion-makers, many people inside the Church, including clergy, may doubt that religious ideas make much of an objective difference in the public

⁶ Cf. Stackhouse ML, 1987:ix. Due to entropic nature of the centre and globalisation not even the remotest rural village in South Africa is free from this tug by the centre (cf. Nürnberger, 1999: 39-69, 333-357)

⁷ According to Stackhouse (1987:ix) this role has been frequently obscured by a number of contemporary modes of social analysis and by some ways of understanding the nature and character of theology.

domain, although they feel that these ideas should have such an impact. Albeit, I will argue (based on Stackhouse 1987: ix) that the Church needs to be informed by a 'public theology' for two reasons. Firstly, because what we as Christians (those who believe thus) have to offer the world for its salvation is not esoteric, privileged, irrational or inaccessible. We believe that it is both comprehensible and indispensable for all. Secondly, such a theology will give guidance to the structures and policies of public life. It is ethical in nature. Therefore, the truth for which we argue must imply a viable element of justice and its adequacy can be tested on that basis.

Academically, the researcher is inspired by the quest of theological students to see the Church more active in exercising its prophetic and advocacy role in society. This has to come to bear in the design of theological programmes in theological education.

In teaching candidates for confirmation, one realises that young people today need to be equipped for their role as witnesses in public, in the workplace and in the community. This requires the design of syllabi to teach them skills to be true to their vocation in public.

South Africa, where 50% of its citizens are classified as abject poor, is a country that is 70% Christian (1996 statistics). The Church, however diverse, is challenged by this context to help transform the public towards being a caring society. The South African government has invited the Church, who is in reach of the poorest and has one of the most strategic infrastructures in society, to collaborate with it (in the areas of social welfare, health and the re-enforcement of the moral fibre of the nation) in a people-centred and integrated developmental approach.⁸ However, to do so, the Church will

⁸ Cf. Mbeki, T (2002:1), "I am confident that we all realise that to defeat this monster we need to unite, combine our resources and work together as government, civil society and the private sector..." (16 Days of Activism: Speech delivered at Muzomuhle Primar School); Skweyita, Z (2001), "Government believes that the solution to the problem to violence against women requires an integrated approach, (which) should enhance partnerships with...FBOs...etc. Cf. Makgoba, MW (ed.) 1999. African Renaissance: the new struggle. Johannesburg: Mafube. Cf. Zuma, J (2000:3), "We are determined as government to embrace best practice, through partnerships with the community...to overcome our problem."

have to orient itself with regard to its calling and role in the public sphere in relation to politics, economics, global forces, poverty, health, employment and all other relevant issues stemming from the public tide. It is the quest of this research to map out the public role of the Church within the life and witness of an indigenous Church of the poor, the Moravian Church, missiologically speaking, *pars pro toto* of the 70% Christians of the South African populace.

1.3 Research problem

In which way has the Moravian Church, firstly as the Moravian Mission (as a foreign mission change agent) and later on in its indigenous ecclesiastical expression as the Moravian Church in South Africa, been instrumental in empowering and developing the indigenous people, through processes of transformation, to develop to their full potential as people of the Reign of God and as rational citizens in the public sphere? What were the constraints and opportunities in the MCSA's life and ministry in relation to its adherents as citizens and agents for transformation in the South African society according to the principles of the Reign of God?

This primary question is explored by means of the following secondary question:

Has it been quietist in that it contributed to a dualistic understanding, which justified a subjugated citizenship while withdrawing into a ghetto church domain of secluded mission stations?

Emanating from these questions is the strategic planning question related to ecclesial form. In what way can the MCSA play an effective and positive role in the public civil sphere to assist in bringing about transformation of the South African society? What insights and guidelines can be derived from this historical missionary disposition of the MCSA, and from the needs and challenges of the contemporary South African context, for the MCSA today in its public role?

The researcher intends to devise guidelines based on the historical analysis and understanding of the public Church to assist the Church in equipping its members to

become conscientious change agents, collectively and individually, for social transformation. The researcher will argue that the Church as a public space within the public arena could function much more effectively, although not exclusively, through its members rather than through its authorities and synods within a given socio-political and economic context, if the members are educationally and strategically equipped and mobilised for it.

Although a social component, the Church, due to its nature, is essentially called to function in society according to the principles and values of the Reign of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the Church as the divine proponent of the reconciled transformed humanity prophetically and sacrificially serves 'a broken society' with a view to its transformation. It is this that the MCSA per se is called to be in its different forms throughout its history in South Africa: firstly as a foreign mission, followed by the mission stations and finally, the congregations and the indigenous national Church in South Africa.

1.4 Area of research

The main body of the research will be done diachronically and is intended to analyse phenomena over three periods in the formation of the Moravian Church in South Africa:

- The Missionary era (1737 – 1960);
- The Autonomous Church under Apartheid (1960 – 1994);
- The United Moravian Church and its future in a democratic society (1994 and further).

Academic research within the field of Moravian Mission history in South Africa include the work of K Müller, *Georg Schmidt, Die Geschichte der ersten Hottentottenmission 1737 – 1744* (Herrnhut 1923), the undated and unpublished work of LR Schmidt, *Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid-Afrika* (Genadendal, undated) and the academic work by B Kruger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms: History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737 – 1869* (Genadendal: Genadendal Book depot 1966). This work was followed by B Krüger and PW Schaberg's, *The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869 – 1980* (Genadendal: The

Moravian Book Depot 1984) and W Sigurd Nielsen, *The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit: History of The Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa* (Port Shepstone 1999), which is a very insightful rendition for a reconstruction of an historical overview of the whole work of the Moravian mission in South Africa.

Since 1980, three diaries (covering the period 1737 – 1796) about the mission work of the Church in South Africa have been published under the editorship of HC Bredenkamp et. al: *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt, dem ersten Missionar in Sudafrica (1737 – 1744)* (Bellville: Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing 1981); *The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries* / H Marsveld, D Schwinn and JC Kühnel. Vol. I (1792 – 1794) and Vol. II (1795 – 1796), Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research 1992 and 1999.

Unfortunately, the other data that is on microfilm could not yet be published in book form due to a lack of funding. However, most of the other data from the diaries (beyond the period 1796) available on microfilm, has been adequately covered by Krüger with painstaking academic reference to the diaries. Various other articles and essays covering the contemporary period by indigenous, as well as expatriates, have been written. Of these, the essay by Schiewe (1998) is of special importance because, unlike the other works that had been written from the perspective of expatriates, it was done from 'below' – i.e. from the perspective of an indigenous member who was formerly regarded as an object of mission.

Drawing mainly upon archival sources like Synodal, Provincial Board and other relevant church institutional records, in addition to the above-mentioned records and interviews, this research will examine the values, symbols and conceptions of the Moravian Ecclesiastical Community within its internal and external environment. In order to come to a critical understanding of the opportunities and limitations in its interaction as faith community with public life (given the spirituality, the living conditions, the education and political rights of its members), it will also examine its structures and participation in South African public life during different political eras. Given the above-mentioned works, the problem statement of the research still calls for an historical analysis and a theoretic construct regarding the public role of the Moravian Church in South Africa.

This is a study within the realm of Missional Theology (Ecclesiology⁹), which is a functional theology. Borrowed from Guder (1998:11 – 12), the term *missional* emphasises the essential nature and vocation of the Church as God's called and sent people:

1. A missional ecclesiology is biblical. The biblical witness is appropriately received as the testimony to God's mission and the formation of God's missionary people to be instruments and witnesses of that mission.
2. A missional ecclesiology is historical. Ecclesiology continuously needs to be shaped for its particular culture, but as such it is guarded by the Christian Church in all its cultural expressions – by those churches that have preceded it and those that are contemporary.
3. A missional ecclesiology is contextual. All ecclesiology functions relative to context and is developed within a particular context. There is but one way to be the Church, and that is incarnationally, within a specific concrete setting.
4. A missional ecclesiology is eschatological. The doctrine of the Church must be developmental and dynamic in nature if we believe that it is moving toward God's promised consummation of all things. New biblical insights will convert the Church and its theology; new historical challenges will raise questions never before considered; and new cultural contexts will require a witnessing response that redefines how the Church functions and expresses its hope.
5. A missional ecclesiology can be practised; that is, it can be translated into practice. The basic function of all theology is to equip the Church for its calling, and that calling is fundamentally missional, i.e. to witness faithfully in particular places and spheres of life. A missional theology therefore serves the church's witness. As such it has to do with the function (praxis) and mission of the Church in society (in the world). It seeks better understanding of its functionality fundamental to the *Missio Dei*.

⁹ Ecclesiologically the Church in essence is missional in nature: it is called and sent by God in the world. That is why we can speak of the Missional Church from a missiological perspective.

6. As missional theology is about the Church's serving function to the community, these functions, viz. mission, proclamation, fellowship, education, growth, habitual change and transformation will be brought to bear on the Church's public image.

Since this study also deals with an understanding of the MCSA within its formation as a mission enterprise, it needs to deal with the dimensions of memory and expectation (Metz, 1980: 100 – 18, 193)¹⁰, which can be called the critical hermeneutic of missional theology (compare McCann and Strain, 1985: 65). This research therefore undertakes a process of historical-hermeneutic reconstruction of Christian praxis within the Moravian Church.

McCann (1985), when referring to the relation between praxis and critical hermeneutics, states:

Praxis is not *techné*. It is not determined by purely instrumental calculations nor governed by the norm of efficiency alone. All genuine praxis is symbolically constituted, and, consequently mediated by interpretative schema, which represent the common good. If we define hermeneutics as the reflective appropriation of traditions claiming to represent such interpretative schema, clearly it is a necessary dimension to critical reflection on praxis. Otherwise stated, hermeneutics is an element in the structure by which an ideology is constructed to shape a concrete practice. Both as religious and as praxis, religious praxis is substantive, a determinate negation of certain modes of being human, and the presentation of an alternative mode of being involving some process of ultimate transformation. Indeed, transformative action cannot qualify as religious unless it is mediated by a

¹⁰ Our sense of the emancipatory potential of memory has been enriched by JB Metz (1980: 193), who suggests that, "remembering...is a way of relieving oneself from the given facts, a way of mediation that can momentarily at least break through the omnipresent power of the given facts." "The restoration of the capacity to remember goes hand in hand with the restoration of the knowing content of the imagination...in this way... [it] becomes a vehicle for liberation."

worldview and an ethos explicitly relating human activity to Ultimate Reality. (McCann et al., 1985: 65).

In the process of mission praxis and the formation of an indigenous church, hermeneutics of the foreign Moravian Mission and the indigenous people were successively involved as an element by which the ideology of first the mission and later an autonomous Church was constructed to shape mission and church praxis. Therefore, a critical hermeneutic will endeavour to critically reflect on missional praxis to establish how missionaries and indigenous leaders as claiming traditions represented the interpretative schema within their "*sitz im leben*" (their situatedness and their activity in relation God).

1.5 Nature of research and research hypothesis

- (a) **The nature of this research** requires a qualitative research, which is both deductive and inductive. By means of critical theory, the MCSA's habits, attitude, practice and culture will be studied with a view to evaluate the church-life and witness; with the expectation that it might transform into that change agent of social transformation in the public realm of civil society. In the process of research the methods of a descriptive and post-positivistic approach will also be applied.
- (b) **The hypothesis:** This research is based on the conviction that one of the most significant responses to mission today is to see Mission as Transformation – that the tension between justice and love shapes all contemporary missiological reflection and action. Furthermore, it is based on the conviction that a theology shaped by the biblical narratives and grounded in the practices of the Christian community within context can provide resources to enable people of faith to regain a public voice our pluralistic culture and society. The research seeks to show that an understanding of Public Theology, and the intervention of training congregations for public witness according to guidelines, will equip the (Moravian) Church to:

1. Seek to understand, through its faith, the relation between Christian convictions and the broader social and cultural context within its situatedness;
2. Conscientiously strive progressively to play its catalytic, transformative public role in society based on:
 - (a) The Church's nature as the people called and sent by God in the world for his mission with the world according to the principles and values of the Reign of God;
 - (b) A socio-political and economic analysis of the South African context;
 - (c) A theology of the public nature of the Church (its advocacy and prophetic ministry).

1.6 Methodology, procedure and research design

Within the field of Missional Theology as human science, the qualitative approach is not radically delimited viz. it is not as formalised and clearly controlled as is the case with the quantitative method (based on Mouton et al., 1985). The range has no definite limits and the modus operandi is more philosophical. The method of the research is explorative-descriptive in nature and is focussed upon the understanding of an aspect of reality.

This qualitative type of research has, according to Groenewald (1986: 57 – 60), the following characteristics: It lies between a case study and an opinion-pole. It has a strong ideographical tendency (the focus is on one specific case or phenomenon and the nature of verification is controlled by whether it is a correct and logical description). It uses participatory observation as data sources, which can be substantiated by structured interviews and sometimes questionnaires within fieldworkers' set-up. The research data is not strongly controllable and stands in a definite sense over against statistically gathered data.

The observation within qualitative research is experienced personally, because the researcher is intensely involved with the subject matter within the field of study. What is more, Mouton (1988: 1 – 20) distinguishes, in addition to the two traditional

methodological paradigms in the humanities, also a third paradigm, which he labels participatory social scientific research. He mentions two central ideas regarding this paradigm. Firstly, the conscious attempt to equalise the power relationship between the researcher and the researched, in order for them to become partners in the research process. Secondly, the research has to lead to political emancipation and liberation of the poor, oppressed and the disadvantaged. The central idea of participatory involvement with the researched, the meeting between the researcher and the researched and a dialectical dialogue between them is strongly emphasised by Mouton. Furthermore, the specific contents that this new paradigm brings to the interests of the social sciences, appears to be the distinctive motive of the new approach.

Within this critical tradition, with its basic metaphor of human change and transformation, the power of liberation is emphasised in the sense of material, economic and political power. Mouton emphasises that humans are beings that can liberate themselves by means of their production, especially their labour, from slavery and oppression. He quotes Fay who describes the role of the social sciences as: "the functions . . . to enlighten the social actors so that, coming to see themselves and their social situation in a new way, they themselves can decide to alter the conditions which they find repressive". Therefore, social theorising has to assist alienated humanity to overcome this estrangement, oppression and exploitation.

The researcher of this study is strongly challenged by the critical theory with its emphasis on transformation, as well as by the new paradigm of participatory social scientific research with its participation of researched and researcher in partnership. The researcher acknowledges in his theorising the search for a partner, and his engagement with the historically disadvantaged and the poor as partner, provided by the ecclesiastical context of the Moravian Church (a church of the poor).

In this study, which, as already mentioned, is an explorative and problem directed study that will centre on the issue of the public Church and social transformation, three data sources will be utilised. Firstly, an overview of the relevant and applicable literature

regarding Church and civil society, with a critical evaluation and comparison of resources with a view to finding a benchmark by which to assess the public role of the Church. Secondly, the direct involvement of the researcher with the subject matter and the historically disadvantaged Moravian Church as “church of the poor” within the field of civil society, education and development. Thirdly, a study of the trends evolved during the history of the Moravian Mission and the autonomous MCSA in relation to its ecumenical relations that can contribute to an understanding of the public role of the Church in South Africa today.

The projected results of the research will be presented in 7 chapters:

1.6.1 Chapter 1

Introduction

Research Problem and Methodology.

In this chapter the researcher deals mainly with the academic orientation of the study in stating that he is an indigenous member of the Church and as such, contrary to the expatriate, deals differently with the historical data. Firstly, he deals with the data from ‘below’ as a member of the Church of the poor. Secondly, he deals with data with the intention of not merely rendering an historical account, but of searching meaningfully (faithfully) for the public role of the Church in equipping its members. He furthermore explores the reaction of Church members to the Gospel message in relation not only to their spiritual needs, but also to their whole person and society as the context of their being the Church in all its configurations.

1.6.2 Chapter 2: A Theological Perspective: Meaning of the ‘Public Church’.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to lay the foundation for the thesis in its normative sense. By conceptualising and formulating the issues ‘church-in-society’ and ‘public church’, a benchmark will be designed by which the

Moravian Church can be measured regarding the role it played in its history, and by which it can be assisted in playing its public role in the evolving and developing democratic dispensation in South Africa, and beyond its borders in the global setting.

1.6.3 Chapter 3: The Moravian Mission (1738 – 1816) in the context of *Cues Regio Eus Religio* (The occupant dictates the religion)

In this chapter a historical overview and ethos are given in order to furnish the background to the Church in South Africa. This covers the time from the founding of the Moravian Church (*Unitas Fratrum*) in Bohemia and Moravia in 1457 to the autonomous Moravian Church in South Africa in June 2001. This is followed by the founding of the South African mission under Georg Schmidt and the revival and expansion of the work by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel. It was at a time when the policy of the rulers was that only the religion of the rulers could be practised in their domain. Therefore, the political context in which the missionaries had to operate is extensively analysed and their reaction to their macro environment in relation to their flock is investigated.

1.6.4 Chapter 4. The Moravian Mission: Polity, Policy and Praxis (1816 – 1900)

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate and evaluate the Moravian Missionary disposition to its mission enclaves on the one hand and, on the other hand, its relations to the civil authorities of the day. An in-depth policy analysis is made of the mission authorities and their policies regarding the mission fields in South Africa.

1.6.5 Chapter 5: The challenges in the process of the formation of an indigenous church: The Mission and the quest for autonomy (1900 – 1960)

In this chapter the awareness of the indigenous members and their quest for an autonomous church is assessed on the ground of church growth, financial

ability, and synodal decisions. Could the indigenous church succeed in meeting the requirements laid down by the world synod of the *Unitas Fratrum*?

1.6.6 Chapter 6: The Moravian Church in South Africa (1960 – 2001)

At first the history of the rise of the National Party and their policy of separate development are discussed to furnish the background against which the Church had to witness as an autonomous church. Within this context, the weaknesses and truthfulness of the Moravian Church to its calling are assessed. This chapter discusses the formation of an indigenous church as a witness against apartheid and its dehumanising laws by referring to:

- Church Polity and State Policy;
- State Theology, Church Theology and Prophetic Theology;
- The internal environment: Church leadership, Synods, ministers' fraternals, the settlements, educational institutions, welfare institutions, theological training and Church growth;
- The external environment: Group Areas Act, permits, uprooting and forced removals, youth movement, Synods, pastoral letters, preaching and worship and role as member of ecumenical bodies within the Apartheid Era.

This is followed by an analysis of the unification movement in the Church as a witness in the new democratic dispensation.

1.6.7 Chapter 7: The United Moravian Church and the challenges of being a Public Church within the new democratic dispensation of SA

In conclusion, based on the historical-contextual analysis, the role of the Moravian Church in its history will be critically assessed in relation to the public church paradigm. This assessment will provide the basis for developing a theology for the Church's prophetic ministry and advocacy role in relation to the challenge and need of the context. This will be followed by drawing up guidelines to assist the missional church in

equipping its leadership and members for a transformatory mission within the public arena. Thus the chapter will conclude with the public responsibility of the Church relating to:

- The prophetic ministry and advocacy role of the Church;
- The pedagogic responsibility of the Church: worship, witness and education in relation to its external environment, especially the public arena.

1.7 Possible value of Research

This study shall endeavour to expose the nature of the influence of the Church within the public settings of the civil life of South Africa, as it had a bearing on the Moravian Church and its adherents.

Firstly, the research project will raise an aspect of mission endeavour, which is normally articulated as either the planting of Western Mission Church establishments and/or the planting of Western imperialism. In other words, mission work ideologically defined as instrumental to the planting of Western civilisation and supremacy with religion defined as a means of subjugating and stripping a people of its indigenous culture. The Mission phenomenon of the Moravian Church will be analysed in its missionary engagement with the Khoi-Khoi and the Xhosas. As the Moravian Mission, during the period 1738 – 1910, was not directly connected to either the Dutch or the English colonial powers (and since it was considered an alien entity before, during and after both WW I and WW II, 1910 – 1960), what influence could it really have exercised during those periods in the formation of its members' awareness as citizens and as Church in the public domain?

Secondly, with regard to its strategy of establishing mission settlements, how public was the Church in its development endeavours and in its interaction with civil authorities for and on behalf of its members within the political sphere of the country? Did the mission settlements create the space for its inhabitants to develop as conscientious and responsible citizens? In what way has it been influential during the period 1960 – 2000, the era of Apartheid, and the period after 1994 in the 'new democratic South Africa'?

Drawing upon archival sources, secondary material and interviews, the research will examine the values and conceptions of the Moravian Faith and civil community (the mission settlements) as part of the broader South African civil society – especially its interaction with civil life – to come to an understanding of the public image of the Church.

Finally, the project seeks to contribute to the quest of the Church in South Africa of enhancing its public image by engaging meaningfully in nation building according to the values of the Reign of God. Therefore, its ultimate contribution shall lie in the development of missional pedagogy for the public Church to realise its quest through Christian education and training.

The framework is presented as follows:

- Public Theology/Public Church
- Moravian Mission as outreach from the Herrnhut (German) Missional Church
- Moravian Church: historical dimensions
- Moravian Church as Missional Church in context.

CHAPTER 2

A THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: MEANING OF THE PUBLIC CHURCH

2.1 Introduction

In a democratic society with a secular constitution one cannot take it for granted that the Church has a public witness or that its theology has a public role. This stance is of course taken from the position that civil society has to create the space for or allow the Church to have a public role. But ought the Church to allow civil society to make concessions for it in order to have a public role? Should the Church with its “public commission/mandate” allow itself to be banished into *de-privation*, i.e. to be refused access to the sphere of the *polis*?¹¹ On what premise does the Church base its conviction that it has a public role to play? Who/what is the public in public church? With which publics should the Church have dialogue today in a pluralistic society?

Informed by these critical hermeneutical questions, this chapter will deal with the following issues:

- Understanding the public (the debate);
- Church as public;
- Configurations of the Church as public;
- Church as public in context;
- Church in relation to other publics.

In dealing with these issues, this chapter will analyse the public role of the Church meta-theoretically to come to an epistemological guideline for the gauging of the contribution made by the Moravian Church in its history in order to obtain a better theological understanding of the public church and the role the Moravian Church can play in witnessing in the public arena in South Africa (albeit not exclusively).

¹¹ Based on the discussion by Conradie (1993: 25) regarding slaves, women and children in the ancient Greek city-state being limited to the private sphere of daily routines and the chores of housekeeping.

2.2 Understanding the public

The concept of public has a long and complex history, which follows a specific socio-political development that in its turn already standardises the concept so that it only lends legitimacy to the definition of “public” composed as “society” by political liberalism.

Hannah Arendt (1998: 192 – 99) orients her own understanding of the term “political” toward the theory and praxis of the polis in antiquity. Based on this view, Hütter (1997: 158 – 171) defines a public as “a human sphere of coactivity constituted and defined by its surrounding borders and by the standards determining it.” For the public character of the polis of antiquity, therefore, the key feature was not spatial identification (city architecture and its concrete demarcation), but the *laws* and the *telos*. The *laws* constituted the precondition for the public character of the polis so that the activities of the free citizens or the praxis of the polis could become possible. The polis in turn exists as a *distinct public* for the specific *telos*, viz. the common activity (Hütter, 1997: 161). In the sense of the *telos* the polis suggests that a “public” is characterised by four constitutive features: (1) a specific *telos*; (2) mutually binding principles expressed in distinct practices, laws, and doctrines; (3) a “moveable” locale; and (4) the phenomenon of “freedom”. These four constitutive aspects together constitute the “time-place” nexus¹² in which common action and speaking can take place (Hütter, 1997: 161).¹³

This *structural concept of the public* to Hütter (1997: 161) has the “heuristic advantage over the substantive normative concept of public attaching to political liberalism; that is,

¹² Hütter (1997: 263) explains this conceptual association as follows: For the *structural concept of the public* developed from the paradigm of the polis, not only is a specific “moveable locale” constitutive, but also a specific “temporality, albeit one which, like the locale”, can be quite different depending on the specific features of the public under discussion.

¹³ Cf. Conradie (1993: 24 – 29) who, in his analysis of the “public sphere”, identifies the following connotations by Arendt (1959: 26): (1) Everything happening in the public sphere could be seen or heard by everyone present and therefore enjoyed a maximum degree of publicity. (2) The public sphere was the area where people could gather without overcrowding one another – precisely because it was the primary locus for distinguishing oneself. (3) In the public sphere decisions were literally taken democratically and through persuasion – not by force.

over the concept oriented toward the specific political development and phenomenon of 'society',¹⁴ that it allows one to focus on a whole series of different publics as such." This *structural concept of public* allows one to scrutinise one central aspect of what, within the horizon of the public of modern liberalism, is commonly called "religion". For it is essential for this structural understanding of public that the terms "public" and "political" are synonymous; that is, that the activities within each public sphere are of a "political" sort commensurate with the particular character of the public in question (Hütter, 1997: 162).

As the focus is primarily on the meaning of the phenomenon "public", Habermas' definition of a public sphere is enlightening: "A realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed . . . A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body" (1985).

Cady (1991a: 108) explains that the meaning of "public" takes on different nuances depending upon what it is being contrasted to. "Public" (as being open and intelligible to all) can be understood in opposition to "parochial" (that which is not universally shared, e.g. a religious affiliation). "Public" (if it is understood to reflect a social realm) can be contrasted with "private" (that which is a personal/individual realm of life), or with "professional" (that which depends upon occupational training), where what is public will be intelligible to all without academic exclusion.

Having established that "public" is that space, which reflects a social realm, is open and intelligible to all, is of a political nature, provides room where common speaking and

¹⁴ In the modern developments "society" has monopolised the concept of the public and thus also of the political by understanding itself as the definitive and normative public. One ironic result of this development is that "political theology", by trying to "politicise" the Church, that is to make it "relevant" within the framework of this public that understands itself as normative, has only deepened the irrelevance of the Church itself and undermined its character precisely as a public or public sphere by subjecting the Church to the political understanding and normative public claims of society and then reconditioning it within society (Hütter, 1997: 264)

action can take place, we now need to establish how the Church can be denoted as “public”.

In order to gain more clarity on the Church as public sphere and the role of the Church in public, let us first turn to the public theology debate.

2.3 The Public Theology Debate

2.3.1 The concern

The term “public theology” first appeared in the title of a 1974-analysis done by Martin Marty on the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr (Stackhouse 1997: 165). The term emphasised the idea that theology is neither merely private nor a matter of distinctive communal identity, although it may be intensely related to personal commitments and to communal worship (cf. Bezuidenhout and Naude 2002: 3 – 13). Public theology raises an argument regarding “the way things are and ought to be, one decisive for public discourse and necessary to the guidance of individual souls, societies, and, indeed, the community of nations” (Stackhouse 1997: 165).

The plea for doing public theology, expressed by USA theologians like Reinhold Niebuhr and John Courtney and, more recently, by Martin Marty, Robert Bellah, Max Stackhouse¹⁵, Richard John Neuhaus, David Tracy,

¹⁵ Max L Stackhouse (1987), speaking against his American background, argues that a “public theology” is required (1987: xi). “Theology”, properly understood, is not merely the rationalisation of a private or particular faith. Theology involves critically examining the confession, determining whether it is worth having according to a defensible understanding of the *logos* of *Theos* that is, evaluating the confession according to its capacity to articulate a reliable and coherent knowledge of divine reality. For Stackhouse (1987: xi), to speak this way entails the conviction that it is possible to speak about the most important questions, such as God, in public discourse, in ways that can interact with other sciences and make sense among the people. Stackhouse (1987: xi) mentions two reasons why it is called “public theology”. Firstly, because that which we as Christians believe we have to offer the world for its salvation is not esoteric, privileged, irrational, or inaccessible. It is something that we believe to be both comprehensible and indispensable for all, something that we can reasonably discuss with people from other faiths. Secondly,

such a theology will give guidance to the structures and policies of public life. It is ethical in nature. The truth that the Christian theologian argues for in the public sphere must imply a viable element of justice, and its adequacy can be tested on that basis (1987: 17 – 35).

Finally, Stackhouse employs the construct of stewardship and argues that Christian stewardship begins in the public stewardship of the Word, and that the four most important touchstones (of authority), or bases, for any “public theology” are Scripture, Tradition, Reason, and Experience. However, a Christian public theology is guided not only by touchstones of authority but also by specific themes or principles that are thought to be indispensable to Christian witness in the world. Stackhouse explores nine principles, viz. creation, liberation, vocation, covenant, moral law, sin, religious freedom, ecclesiology and trinity (1987: 157 – 177). The question is posed: “How do these principles, which are based in Scripture, rooted in tradition, marked by reason and informed by experience, influence our thought about public matters?” (Stackhouse 1987: 157 – 177). Stackhouse responds that “it is not only enough to clarify the great themes of perennial importance, but to relate them to a viable ‘Christian sociology’ by extending and refining the efforts in the public domain – linking our theology (in stewardship) to the structures and dynamics of the emerging political economy in a way that guides, refines, and selectively sustains that which is creative and redemptive.”

Three requirements are mentioned (Stackhouse, 1987: 174 – 177):

- (1) **The transformation of theological education:** Not only is theological education to focus on the traditional therapeutic-managerial presuppositions of our culture, but it also needs to include the understanding of the fundamental dynamics and structures of modern society or the associated theological and ethical doctrines that have been developed over centuries.
- (2) **A meta-physical-moral vision:** The Church cannot wrestle with problems of modern society without a willingness to work at a relatively abstract level. It is necessary to develop general models of modern society’s components detailing what these are and by what governing standards we might evaluate and transform them. Above all, to address and assess them at the theological and ethical levels we need an even more abstract method of wrestling with the basic questions of how humans might reliably know something of a publicly defensible nature about how to speak normatively to such matters in a pluralistic world.
- (3) **Pluralism as a normative theological as well as an ethical or social belief:** Christians oppose monolithic definitions of ultimate reality, but their pluralistic beliefs are governed by a broader belief in unity. The triune God is integrated. If a Trinitarian theology can be linked to a new understanding of how modern societies work, the Church may find effective ways to assess and transform the dynamic and pluralistic structures of contemporary political economies. Public Theology therefore has to show that a fundamental pluralism within a coherent unity is necessary to the public institutions of life.

The implicit message of Stackhouse (1987) in dealing with Public Theology and Political Economy is this: when and if the Churches reclaim, recast, teach, and enact the deeper and broader meanings of stewardship and offer interpretive and normative guidance to the complexities of modern political economy, those who catch the vision will be prompted to share, sacrificially, their resources.

Fowler¹⁶ and others, should primarily be understood against the background of the 'American experience' of the problem of privatisation in a pluralistic

From Stackhouse the researcher postulates the motivation for a public theology, viz. that as Christians what we have to offer the world for its salvation is something that we believe to be both comprehensible and indispensable for all, something that we can reasonably discuss with people from other faiths; that such a theology will give guidance to the structures and policies of public life. It is ethical in nature. The truth that the Christian theologian argues for in the public sphere must imply a viable element of justice, and its adequacy can be tested on that basis. Public theology is guided by certain principles or themes, which are considered as indispensable for Christian witness in the public arena. Public theology has to relate the nine themes/principles to a viable "Christian sociology" by extending and refining the efforts in the public domain – linking our theology (in stewardship) to the structures and dynamics of the emerging political economy in a way that guides, refines, and selectively sustains that which is creative and redemptive.

¹⁶ James W. Fowler (1991) states that Public Church points to a vision of ecclesial praxis. It seeks to be faithful to a biblical grounding in its claim that ecclesial community, formed by the presence and fellowship of Christ, points beyond itself to the praxis of God in the process of history. It tries to point to and embody a transforming presence in human relations, in societies, and in care for embattled nature. That God's praxis transforms toward wholeness, justice, and peace finds witness in ecclesial community as congregations practice their principles of equality, partnership, and inclusiveness, as they welcome and extend hospitality to the stranger, and as they give their lives for transformed human community in particular contexts (Fowler 1991: 151).

Fowler, together with Mary Boys (editor of *Education for Citizenship and Discipleship*), have sought to address the role of the Churches in reconstituting ethical and moral foundations in the education of the public (Fowler 1984 "Pluralism, Particularity and *Padeia*," in *Journal of Law and Religion* 2/2 (1984): 263 – 307; and "Reconstituting *Padeia* in American Public Education", in P Palmer, B Wheeler, and JW. Fowler (Eds.) 1990 *Caring for the Commonwealth*. Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press; Boys, M (Ed.) 1989 *Education for Citizenship and Discipleship*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press).

In addition he has thought to address, in preliminary ways, the question of formation for public Christians that takes seriously the re-knitting of the spheres in and through their vocations. He has argued that if the Church is going to regain influence in the future, it must take more seriously the awakening and forming of the covenantal identities and vocations of its members.

In an effort at characterisation, he offers the following seven clusters as a description of congregations of public church:

- (1) Public church fosters a clear sense of Christian identity and commitment;
- (2) Congregations of Public church manifest a diversity of membership;
- (3) Public church consciously prepares and supports members for vocation and witness in a pluralistic society;
- (4) Public church balances, nurtures, and groups solidarity

culture (cf. Tracy 1981b: 113). These theologians share a common desire: to counteract the marginalization and privatisation of contemporary theology. They – particularly those concerned about the ethical quality of society – agree that the Christian faith has public implications and should form part of public discourse.

However, although the debate amongst contemporary theologians about the public and or political implications of the Christian faith and witness has reached general agreement, there is not much “consensus regarding the proper form (mode or style) for a Christian public theology and witness” (Thiemann, 1991: 19 – 20).

Although they are divided on the question of the criteria for a genuine public theology, it is of strategic importance (in order to come to an epistemological key regarding the public nature of the MCSA), to explore the Chicago-Yale debate for an understanding of the Church as public in relation to other publics.

2.3.2 The Chicago-Yale Debate on Public Theology

The Chicago-Yale debate deals in essence with two approaches to a public way of doing theology (cf. Lategan 1995: 217 – 230): the more “extroverted” approach of the Chicago school and the more “introverted” attitude of their Yale counterparts.

within, with forming and accountability in vocation in work and public life beyond the walls of the Church; (5) Public church evolves a pattern of authority and governance that keep pastorals and lay leadership initiatives in a fruitful balance; (6) Public church offers its witness in publicly visible and publicly intelligible ways; (7) Public church shapes a pattern of *paideia* for children, youth, and adults that works toward the combining of Christian commitment with vocation in ‘public’ (Fowler, 1991: 155 – 162).

Tracy (1981), as the most prominent exponent of the Chicago school, is deeply concerned with the public nature of theology in all three publics he distinguishes.¹⁷ Dialogue and persuasion, and therefore some form of rationality, are important in all spheres. However, the nature of publicness may differ from public to public, requiring different strategies in each case (cf. Conradie 1993: 35; Lategan 1995: 223). Furthermore, the public defence of theological truth requires, according to Tracy (1990a: 901), a particular form of rationality and a particular set of criteria for rationality in each of the three publics of theology. In the case of the third public, the transformative potential of any theological truth claim is critically assessed, and the consequences of Christian action and beliefs are evaluated. In order to be convincing, truth claims cannot merely be re-described, but need some basis of agreement and some measure of universality with those outside the faith community.

¹⁷ David Tracy (1981) in his influential book, *The Analogical Imagination*, while grounding theology's publicness in general philosophical or metaphysical argument, has set forward an extensive proposal regarding the public character of theology. Tracy (1981: 1 – 46) identifies three “publics” relevant to the theologian's work: society, the academy and the Church. Each public situation obliges the theologian to make explicit the “criteria, evidence, warrants, disciplinary statuses of his or her work. Only by acceding to this ‘demand for publicness’ can the theologian forefend that dreadful ‘retreat from the realm of polity’ . . . to the sphere of our private lives where ‘personal preferences’ are still allowed to reign.” “The theologian,” Tracy further asserts, “should argue the case on strictly public grounds that are open to all rational persons.” “Personal faith or beliefs”, therefore, “may not serve as warrants or support for publicly defended claims to truth. Instead, some form of philosophical argument will serve as the major warrant and support for all such claims.” In making such metaphysical assertions, the theologian “discloses permanent possibilities for human existence both personal and communal.” Tracy's criteria for genuine public theology are thus threefold. All theological proposals must (1) make the structure and logic of argument explicit, (2) present arguments available to all rational persons, (3) provide philosophical warrants of sufficient generality to show that the theological position is grounded not in the particulars of faith or belief, but in some possibility available to human existence generally.

David Tracy shows that a communicative understanding of rationality is significant for the public nature of theology. It compels theology to recognise that the public with which theology is in dialogue is neither an abstract universal public nor a monological reason but rather a public constituted by open conversations, plural discourses, and diverse communities.

It is exactly this attempt to be universal and convincing on the basis of common rationality that led the so-called Yale school ¹⁸ to opt for an “intra-

¹⁸ The Yale school’s proponents are theologians like George Lindbeck, Hans Frei, Paul Holmer, Stanley Hauerwas, Ronald Thiemann and others (cf. Conradie 1993: 37). Of this school the mode of Ronald F. Thiemann is expounded as an example.

Ronald F Thiemann (1991: 21) in presenting his form of public theology is defensive about “the ability of Christians to employ the specific resources of their traditions to engage in public conversation.” The title of his book, *Constructing a Public Theology: The Church in a Pluralistic Culture*, reveals that his concern is about the theology that the Church designs in its context of pluralism.

He makes it clear that there is no set of theological or philosophical first principles that provides a starting point on which everyone can agree in a pluralistic society (Thiemann 1991: 17 – 18). Yet society and the Church stand in desperate need of finding ways to talk to each other about questions of value and meaning. Thoughtful Christians in particular want to make their voices heard in public debate without opening themselves up to charges of trying to impose their agenda on everyone else.

Thiemann demonstrates that a theology shaped by the biblical narratives and grounded in the practices of the Christian community can provide resources to enable people to regain a public voice in a pluralistic culture (Thiemann 1991: 19). He challenges the Church to develop a public theology that remains based in the particulars of Christian faith while addressing issues of public significance. To him, public theology is “faith seeking to understand the relation between Christian convictions and the broader social and cultural context within which the Christian community lives” (Thiemann 1991: 21). The theologian that has to construct a public theology thus enters the public realm with the confidence, born out of faith, that Christian convictions do have relevance for public life. But how those convictions relate to the complicated patterns of social, political, and institutional life cannot be known in advance (Thiemann 1991:22).

In constructing his public theology, Thiemann shows how careful attention to the form and substance of biblical narratives (1991: 19, 45, 48 – 53, 70 – 71, 136 – 139), the practices of Christian worship (1991: 112 – 124) and piety (1991: 126 – 127, 139 – 131, 133), the institutional life of the Church (1991: 38 – 43), the academy (1991:160 – 167) and the pluralism of contemporary society (1991: 18, 34, 46 – 47, 117 – 119) can contribute to the descriptive, critical, and reconstructive task of a public theology.

Thiemann (1991: 173), while acknowledging the debate in academic theology about public theology, finds that it has focused only on the question of whether theological arguments are available for public examination and whether theological assertions are intelligible beyond the confines of a particular religious community, but it only begins to help to address what he terms “the far more important questions”, viz.:

textual" approach to a public way of doing theology. Whereas Tracy gives preference to the modes of explaining and justifying, members of the Yale school concentrate on describing the way in which Christian truth claims function within a particular faith community (cf. Thiemann (1991) in footnote 18).

Although there are clear differences between the more "extroverted" approach of the Chicago school and the more "introverted" attitude of their Yale counterparts, the preoccupation with the "truth claims" of Christianity and their defence remains. The concern of the Yale school is that the attempt to render Christian beliefs universally, and therefore publicly, accessible by translating them into categories more familiar and congenial to the public sphere, can only lead to the loss of the specifically Christian or theological character of such discourse. The implication is that Christian truth claims should rather be described within their own frame of reference if one is to serve their persuasive power and if they are to have any value outside the community of faith (Conradie 1993: 38 – 40).

Tracy (1989b: 555 ff) appreciates the value of such an intra-textual approach, but does not believe that it will produce the desired result in the public sphere. He therefore insists "that we should not only describe the

"Will religious convictions and theological analyses have any real impact on the way our public lives are structured? Can a truly public theology have a salutary influence on the development of a public policy within a pluralistic democratic nation?"

To him the real challenge to a North American public theology is to find a way within the social, cultural, and religious pluralism of American politics – to influence the development of public policy without seeking to construct a new Christendom or lapsing into a benign moral relativism.

Thiemann wants the public theology to be a theology shaped by the biblical narratives and grounded in the practices of the Christian community, which then can provide resources to enable Christians to regain a public voice in a pluralistic culture. This public voice of unity and hope has as its goal to influence public policy with a view to instil the public with the Kingdom values.

truth claims of the Christian tradition accurately, but should also proceed to assess how what we believe through our religious tradition coheres or does not cohere with what we otherwise know, practice, and believe" (Tracy 1985: 470).

In both these schools it is interestingly obvious how strongly the focus is still on preserving the integrity of the Christian faith, albeit by following different routes (cf. Lategan 1995: 224).

The three helpful distinctions by Tracy of the three major publics of theology (the academy as the first public, the Church as the second public and society at large as the third public of theology) have made it possible to get a clearer grasp of this complex problem (cf. Tracy 1981a: 1 – 46). The researcher, in view of the hypothesis and problem statement, is concerned mainly with the second and third public as expounded by Tracy, namely the Church and society. Subsequently, we will pay attention to the Church as public sphere, followed by a discussion of the third public, society at large.

2.4 The Church as public ¹⁹

2.4.1 The Ecclesiastical versus the monolithic political understanding

What is meant by referring to the Church as a public? The Reformed theologian William Placher (1985: 407) distinguishes between three

¹⁹ Martin Marty (1981) coined the term "public church" in a book by that title, published in 1981. Marty's discussion stands in the spirit of Alexis de Tocqueville, who was concerned that democracy could not function without institutions mediating between the individual and government, on the one hand, and between the individual and the masses, on the other (also Huber 1988 makes use of De Tocqueville's concept of mediating). He saw voluntary associations as well as churches as critical for this kind of mediation. Marty's concerns go beyond Tocqueville's, however, to focus on the contributions churches can make from Christian tradition to the 'ordering faith' of the public toward clarification of and care for the "common good".

different semantic directions attached to church or theology as “public”. In his view, a theology or church is “public” insofar as: “It appeals to warrants available to any intelligent, reasonable person; It understands a religion as fundamentally a public, communal activity, not a matter of the individual’s experience; It effectively addresses political and social issues.”

This perception is affirmed by Lategan (1995: 219 – 220) when he refers to the second public in Tracy’s perspective (1981a: 1 – 46), that of the Church or the believing community, which demands different ways of speaking and different ways of doing theology (cf. Kelsey 1990, Farley 1982: 183 – 191). But, although this seems to have the nature of an in-house conversation, there is a very specific and distinct “public” dimension to this discourse. According to Tracy (1981b: 116), the basis for this communality is some aspect of shared human experience. This is specifically inherent in the foundational documents of the Church, which lend to them “classical” status. Although rooted in a very particular context, these texts have a disclosive power, “speaking to a potentially universal audience, because it expresses, through its very intensified particularity, some aspect of a shared human experience” (Tracy 1981a: 132).

Also Huber (1973), in his comprehensive study “Kirche und Öffentlichkeit”, emphasises the Church’s public claim, its public character, and even speaks in a recent essay about the “public church within plural publics”.²⁰

²⁰ Huber, when he speaks of the Church as an intermediary institution in the civil society, is convinced that since the unification of Germany the Evangelical Church in particular has a great public responsibility. Presently, the challenge is not only to view this responsibility in a German context, but also to develop this responsibility wider in relation to the whole of Europe. It is therefore necessary that the Church does not only understand and view its public task in relation to the State, but as intermediary institution in the civil society. This involves three very important aspects: (1) The Church has a genuine educational task that is not confined to educational processes in the congregation and to the Church’s educational organisations, but that which includes the essence of public education. (2) The Church has a political responsibility, which she concretises in her campaigning for righteousness and human rights, for peace and the integrity of

However, Hütter (1997: 169), in critiquing Huber, states that by reconstructing the modern concept of public sphere in this socio-historic fashion, and by then continuing to use this concept, Huber, like Tracy, subjects himself to the normative implications of the concept. Rather than gaining critical theological distance from the normative horizon of this political theory, he falls prey to the modern monolithic concept of “public”, and naturally quite contrary to Huber’s own intention, the Church undergoes subtle political discipline and domestication **insofar as its own self-understanding as a specific public is undermined by being oriented primarily toward a “public” not identical with itself.** As long as the Church is not understood explicitly as a public, any reference to the “public church” is merely an external perspective on the Church from the perspective of the normative public of modern, differentiated liberal society that promptly affects the Church’s eclipse as a public. If by contrast one understands the Church first of all ecclesiologically as a public itself, one can then **also consider its complex relationships with a multiplicity of other, different publics including that of the democratically constituted modern society.**

This can only be done if one understands the Church theologically as the public of the Holy Spirit or as the public of God’s economy of salvation. Only then can one speak about a “public church” in a way that does not deliver the Church to an alien logic; rather, the Church will then remain free even under the conditions of modernity in its relation to a specific configuration of problems. It is necessary to have a thorough theological

creation. (3) And finally, what she cannot surrender is the responsibility that she carries to maintain and to further develop in society space for a culture of helpfulness (caring).

Thus Huber’s major contribution to this schema of things lies in that he defines the Church as an “intermediary” institution in civil society, or what in the researcher’s opinion is publicly referred to as the “advocacy” role of the Church. This *paracletos* role of the Church in the public arena involves public education, political responsibility and to develop and maintain a culture of caring.

perspective on the Church “from within”, that is, a theological theory of the christological-pneumatological reality of the Church that conceives it as a public.

2.4.2 The Church as public of the Holy Spirit

Within the public of the people called by God, Pentecost as the performance of the Holy Spirit initiated the eschatological public of the *ecclesia*, the eschatological *polis* (Heb. 13: 14). The *kerygma* constituted and characterised this public christologically and pneumatologically, as well as specific core practices like baptism and the breaking of the bread. Alongside these, it was the earliest confessions of faith, the emerging canon, and the Episcopal office that came to characterize the Church as an identifiable public, one that quite early came into conflict with the religio-politically constituted public of the *Pax Romana* (Hütter, 1997: 162).

The early Church was prompted more by theological consideration than sociological and historical factors to employ references to the *polis* as well as the *oikos* (Ephesians 2: 19). God’s economy of salvation demands that the Church understand itself on the one hand as a specific public in analogy to the *polis*, and on the other, simultaneously remain precisely as such the household of God. Of this household the resurrected Christ is the “head” of its body in a one-sided an irreversible fashion quite unforeseen by the *polis* of antiquity with regard to the relation between free citizens. God’s household rule determines on the other hand a reversal of the dispensation of antiquity’s household. Those who were by definition excluded from the *polis* and confined to the *oikos*, namely, women, children, and slaves (the marginalised), through God’s economy of salvation become through baptism “fellow citizens” of that particular public (Gal. 3: 27 – 29). But this *oikos* as the *ecclesia* involves the economy of the triune God, and as such forms part of God’s salvific activity in history encompassing the entirety of

creation itself. It is this economy – the economy of salvation – that constitutes and structures this *oikos* as a unique public.

As the sphere of the Holy Spirit, the Church has a distinct identity and character. The core practices and doctrina demarcate this identity and “circumscribe” at the same time the “time-space”, the specific and temporal locale of the Church (Hütter, 1997: 165).

The highly unique character of this public is to be understood entirely from the perspective of its soteriological telos. This telos prevents the Church from being described according to the purely spatial logic of modern political thought and from falling prey to modernity’s uniquely normative concept of public (Hütter 1997: 165).

As the public of the Holy Spirit, the Church then is constituted not through “boundaries” but through a “center” that in the core practices creates “space” and “time” and is expressed authoritatively in doctrina. This centre is of an utterly christological nature, and as such also does indeed demarcate the one “boundary” the Church never transcends.

Concurring with Hütter, the study will apply this notion and understanding in constructing the idea of church as public. The identification of the Church as public of the Holy Spirit requires further exploration since the Church has many forms.

2.5 The Configuration of the Church as public

It is of vital importance to understand what is presupposed when reference is made to the Church – as locale, as space, in time, and in its core practices in society. The question is:

Is it that clear what the Church is, or is supposed to be? Since NT times, one does not get simple depictions of what the Church is.²¹ Through the passage of time the term “church” has become a collective term for diverse movements, institutional and organisational forms, groups and communities. It is clear from academic writing that the term has different associations amongst different people.

Subsequently, and rightfully so, academic works about the Church (cf. Hanson (1987), Huber (1988) and Smit (1996)), in recent years increasingly differentiate between different configurations of the Church.²² With the intention not to oversimplify and generalise, six configurations have become prominent and fairly representative of such configurations:

(i) Church as worshipping community

In this sense the Church gathers to worship God whenever it publicly meets for worship on a Wednesday or Sunday, for funerals or to celebrate the sacraments. Anybody is then welcome to join the worshipping community according to its customs and practices. Although this religious exercise happens visibly, it is not restricted to one place or context. For instance, on a Sunday the Church worships universally as Christians honour the Sunday as a day of worship.

(ii) Church as local congregation

In its local form the Church has structure and a constitution. People can join and take up membership with the local congregation. There is a body of authority called the Church council. The members have certain privileges, rights and responsibilities. The local congregation perform rituals and observe symbolic acts, which are characteristic of its identity.

²¹ Smit (1996) gives a very informative overview of how in academic circles attempts have been made to systematise the multifaceted nature of church-and society-relations on the basis of biblical evidence.

²² Smit published 2 articles on the public image and role of the Church, viz. “Oor die unieke openbare rol van die kerk” (1996b) en “Oor die kerk as ‘n unieke samelewingsverband”(1996a). Smit refers substantially to the work of Hanson & Hanson (1987) and Huber (1988).

(iii) Church as denomination

Local congregations form confessional entities like the Lutheran or Methodist Churches. Thus people claim that they are Lutherans or Methodists. Confessionally they belong to the Lutheran communion of faith, which has special doctrines and rituals that are special to Lutherans and differ from Methodists.

(iv) Church as ecumenical body

Churches organise themselves in regional national or international bodies as part of the conciliar movements across denominational lines and confessions to be a stronger and more effective witness in the region (Western Cape Council of Churches), nationally (South African Council of Churches) or globally as the World Council of Churches. By means of their membership they can pool their resources to exercise a more influential role in context.

(v) Church as believers in their societal involvement with voluntary organisations

The Christian faith community through its members, irrespective of denomination or confession, engages with society by means of involvement in activist groups concerned about political, social, moral or ecological issues. Today with poverty, crime and HIV/Aids on the increase, faith communities and individual believers are constantly challenged to form partnerships with other groups in a plural society to combat social evils.

(vi) Church as individual believers in their daily lives

Individual believers in their daily lives at the workplace, on the street, on busses are in contact with the secular structures, economic measures and political dispensations within the spectrum of the socio-political and economic sphere of life. They experience life as citizens of the State. In this sphere of reality, they have to practice their faith as "light and as salt".

Within these configurations, the Church as public has demonstrated its nature publicly through certain timeless public responsibilities, e.g. by means of preaching (*kerugma*), fellowship (*koinonia*), liturgy (*leiturgia*), witnessing (*marturea*); service (*diakonia*); catechism or teaching, education or formation (*didache*). In all these forms or configurations, the Church expresses its public praxis.

These modes of being church have to help the Church to influence public life (Smit 1996b). It is without doubt clear that the *congregational worship* happening around the word and sacraments could contribute in a very meaningful way to public opinion (Smit 1995a). In addition, much could be said about the witness and actions of the *local congregations* to help form and develop the thinking, the climate, the prevailing values and the so-called 'moral fabric' of the local environment. The role of the *denomination* is of course of special importance. Many people would automatically think of this mode when reference is made to the public role of the Church. It is normally the denomination that officially and publicly takes in a position around moral issues of common interest. Different denominations do it according to their divergent structures and policies. For most of the South African denominations, it remains a challenge to think critically about how a denomination could continuously and effectively engage public issues. In a democratic society, neither the citizens nor the members of the Church would easily be impressed by mere official statements and declarations. Denominations will have to do much more to equip their members for the reflection processes, to apply expertise and to engage their viewpoint in dialogue argumentatively and persuasively. The *ecumenical* witness regarding public matters in a democracy is becoming of utmost importance. If the 'Church' wants to be heard as it articulates the peoples' desire regarding the nature and quality of society, it is of crucial importance that joint (*ecumenical*) witness takes place. More than ever, the Church will have to engage in *partnerships* and joint actions with other groups in society in order to address public issues effectively and achieve goals for the common good. Churches will have to motivate and encourage their members to get involved in civil initiatives, actions and movements that strive for the interest and values of society in accordance with biblical evangelical convictions. It will also entail that *individual members will have to learn to, and practice to, live as*

Christians in a pluralistic democracy – to live multiculturally by respecting the other in their difference and to persist with sensitivity to bear witness to the unique truth by which they as Christians live (Smit 1996; Huber 1992b).

This multi-form model of the publicness of the Church will be utilised in this study to ascertain the publicness of the Moravian Church in its mission history and later on as autonomous church in relation to the equipment of its members within the South African context.

Apart from acknowledging the Church as a public within its own right, it is also necessary to address the aspect of the third public, namely society at large. This is an important context that has an impact on or is impacted on by the public ministry of the Church.

2.6 The Third Public: Society

Tracy's distinction (Tracy, 1981a: 1 – 46) of the third public helps us to understand that, however important other tasks and challenges for the Church (and theology) might be, this is the terrain that will to a large extent determine its future and the role it is likely to play in a new and fundamentally different society. In a context of transition such as South Africa, this public is of critical importance (Lategan 1995: 220). Within the focus of the third public, theological works and witness are aimed at the various individual, social and structural needs and problems present in society at large (Tracy 1981b: 115). The call for a public theology and witness is often focussed on this role of the Church in the larger society (the political and economic spheres). The call for a "public" way of doing theology therefore usually includes a call for the cultivation of an authentic public life

Public theology does not only require an interest in and a concern about public issues. According to Conradie (1993: 24 – 49), it is not sufficient to merely articulate and promote the values, interests and strategies of a particular religious or theological

tradition in the public arena. It is also important to develop adequate strategies to resolve the sometimes radically different views and manifestos propagated in the public arena.

2.7 The Church as Public within the South African Context

In the development of public theology in South Africa there have been various attempts at creating the effective style or mode. There was the attempt by the State Church in the Apartheid Era to shape public life according to theological principles based on "Christian-national principles" (cf. Lategan 1995: 223, cf. De Gruchy 1979: 69 – 84), which led to the disastrous result of social engineering in the form of apartheid. On the other hand, there is the resistance theology tradition of various forms of liberation theology in its struggle against apartheid. The genre of the *Kairos* Document is that of a prophetic witness against the (public) powers of the day (cf. Lategan 1995: 222 – 223).

In his latest book, Villa-Vicencio (1992)²³ makes a plea for the transformation of resistance theology into a theology of reconstruction, in order to restore humanity in the

²³ Villa-Vicencio, in his book *A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation-building and human Rights* (1992), identifies three ways in which theology commonly responds to historical realities: (1) Theology, he says, has often legitimated the status quo. (2) At other times it has fuelled resistance and revolution. (3) Rarely has it taken the third position, which is to contribute seriously to the difficult programme of nation-building and political reconstruction. In the interest of the third option he developed his "theology of reconstruction". His question to the Church is, whether it is theologically capable of contributing to the establishment of good government (in the interest of the "common good"), or whether this responsibility is better left to secular forces.

According to Villa-Vicencio, the "immediate task" of his public theology is to place certain values and structures in position. A theology of reconstruction, he proposes, should concentrate on middle axioms or provisional definitions that are realistic, attainable goals in the present circumstances or the next step on the road to economic justice, human dignity, and political liberation.

Villa-Vicencio makes two very fundamental postulations. The first is that the ultimate spiritual and social obligation of all religions is indeed resolute and simple obedience to God. His second postulation is that the Church in a post-exilic period is obliged to work with a democratically elected government with the proviso that it does not lead to disobedience to God. The Church has the biblical mandate to be the servant of the people in working with a democratically elected government. Taking his second postulate as guide, he then continues to unfold its meaning methodologically. Villa-Vicencio took his cue from the idea that

God acts in history. Such divine action must be discerned through the hermeneutics of "newness". Thus he conceptualised a metaphorical theology of reconstruction. The post-exilic metaphor in the Judeo-Christian tradition is taken as the guiding star for his "theology of reconstruction". He is convinced that a post-exilic biblical theology is required in situations of nation building. The dichotomy suggested by scholars between doom, judgement and law in the pre-exilic period over-against hope, salvation and grace in the post-exilic period is an oversimplification of the more complex biblical shift in emphasis at the time of the return from exile. This understanding of "a complex biblical shift" that he found in the post-exilic prophecy, he applies as *the* biblical metaphor for a theology of reconstruction and political stability. By making use of the notion of law, Villa-Vicencio activates this logic within the frame of democratic nation building, which in essence means religious obligation in the interest of the common good. *Law*, to him, *is key to just reconstruction*. Biblically speaking, he maintains, the notion of law becomes the key that energises the post-exilic metaphor. The Law reveals the presence of God. The notion of Law in the Bible is not understood as negative and/or oppressive, but as positive incentive, enabling and drawing a people forward to what they ought to be. Although the law as we know it today was unknown in ancient Israel, "culturally, this (ancient Israel) tradition has nevertheless informed secular legal debate in a way that legitimates metaphorical hermeneutical links being made between biblical reflection of law and the contemporary quest for a social and legal renewal". The making of *just law* is the final quest of *A Theology of Reconstruction*, which is needed for a South Africa that is being transformed into a new society.

A Theology of Reconstruction is an interdisciplinary attempt to come to terms with the paradoxical relationship between the prophetic "no" and a creative or constructive "yes". Therefore, he has defined this relationship in terms of the contextual "demand". The manifestation of democracy requires a new format of liberative theology, a "reconstructive" one. A reconstructive theology articulates the "yes" for democracy, human rights and nation building. This is the "demand" of the context in South Africa and elsewhere.

With a view to its public role, Villa-Vicencio challenges the Church on the basis of its prophetic task within the struggle for democracy. "The prophetic task of the Church must include a thoughtful and creative 'yes' to options for political and societal renewal." Because he is concerned about realistic, attainable goals in the present South African circumstances, which is the next step, he is convinced that the middle axiom approach is the best construct to "drive the debate in the direction of contextual theology", and further that "it integrates the contextual and transcendental demands of the Gospel". On the basis of this understanding, Villa-Vicencio claims that "story, tradition and biblical teaching are important . . . however, if the Church is to share creatively in the reconstruction process it is obliged to translate this heritage into concrete proposals". It is no longer enough to say that we will not allow the world to propose the agenda. The Church should state its agenda: "It is required to say something 'new'. More than this, it is required to be part of a new creation, a new social order and the birth of social, political and economic structures. Goals, principles and guidelines are not enough". Villa-Vicencio claims that the prevalent social conditions

post-apartheid era and to assist the process of nation building. Charles Villa-Vicencio, as a proponent of South African public theology, designed, with his theology of reconstruction,²⁴ the most comprehensive public theology in South Africa after 1990.²⁵ Whereas his work can be regarded as a systematic attempt to deal with concerns regarding the process of nation-building, other prominent South African public theologians such as Bosch,²⁶ De Gruchy,²⁷ Pityana,²⁸ Botman²⁹, Cochrane³⁰, Conradie³¹

in South Africa are calling for a church that is capable of making socio-political proposals. According to Villa-Vicencio, this calls the Church to the next practical step or middle axiom.

²⁵ Cf. HR Botman (2000), "Theology After Apartheid: Paradigms and Progress in South African Public Theologies", in: Wallace, MA Jr. (Ed.) 2000 *Theology in the Service of the Church*.

²⁶ Bosch, D (1991: 189), another prominent South African theologian, in his book *Transforming Missions: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, claims that in the field of religion "a paradigm shift means both continuity and change, faithfulness to the past and engagement of the future". The context is fundamentally different from that of the nineteenth century. "The contemporary world challenges us to practice a 'transformation hermeneutics', a theological response which transforms us first before we involve ourselves in mission to the world."

²⁷ De Gruchy (1991: 242 – 243), in his book *Liberating Reformed Theology – A South African Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate*, adds the claim that "the precise role of the Church cannot be the same in a post-apartheid South African society as it was, of necessity, in the struggle against apartheid . . . yet certain elements must remain constant". Such a theology must "enable a Christian presence and witness that contribute to the just transformation of society irrespective of who is in power." He maintains that the Church has a very important role to play in helping shape public opinion and the fabric of a nation. In another instance, he describes the new role of the Church by using the metaphor of a "midwife to the birth of our democracy". (De Gruchy, 1994: 14 – 25).

²⁸ NB Pityana (1997: 209 – 219), the South African Anglican theologian, places lawmaking at the centre of his proposals. He wants to see the development of an ethic of responsibility within the context of the development of a human rights culture. He takes up the point that "law" and "order" were meaningless on both sides of the apartheid divide. A culture of conspiracy protected revolutionary comrades and government officers from the real intention of law and order. In the light of these factors, he claims that "the development of a human rights culture lies on the path to free responsibility". Human rights, he asserts, provide a context for our appreciation of God's work in creation and redemption.

²⁹ H Russel Botman (2000: 36 – 51) has proposed "a theology of transformation" in his search for an option embedded in the ultimate question regarding obedience to God and the biblical design of socio-

political responsibility. Botman's contribution is of importance in view of human transformation, especially in the South African context of suffering due to poverty, health hazards, violence, housing needs and civic provision of goods and services in a young democracy.

The Church has an urgency in the penultimate to "deliver the goods" of the kingdom in obedience to God. The Church also has an obligation to live its obedience to God in a society of human misery. Transformation is a way of thinking about human beings and forming new humanities (as in human beings). The latter is the essential promise of Christianity for civil society. Conditions in South Africa call for a vocational paradigm that returns to the following of Jesus of Nazareth with the ultimate aim of continuing his liberative practices.

Botman's proposal for a theology of transformation is based on the conviction that it is virtually impossible to move from political disobedience to political obedience without coming to terms historically with the ultimate question, viz. the notion of obedience to God and its design of responsible citizenship.

The locality of a theology of transformation lies in the Church, in its socio-political, socio-economic, and personal context, which by means of engagement in certain transformative practices may give rise to new knowledge for promoting the common good.

³⁰ Cochrane (1997: 1 – 5) makes a valuable contribution with regard to the public role of the Church in policy-making in his article "Theological Reflection on Public policy: the Church and the Reconstruction of South African Society". He refers to the damages and effects (in the context of the emerging South African democracy) caused by the process of negotiations, as well as to those caused by decades of oppression, racial privilege and power, etc., and says that they remain the most potent challenge to fulfilling the promise of a new nationhood and a just society. To the injuries of race and class must also be added patriarchal domination, which besets much of our society, especially in the oppression of women and children and the abuse that hits too many homes and relationships. Cochrane is offering a starting point for a more comprehensive argument on the way in which the Church and Christian theology may engage in the making of public policy.

Cochrane postulates three constructs operating in the sphere of policy-making, viz. possibility, constraint and pragmatism. He finds that there are opportunities and constraints – even in the present government's shaping of policy – to address deep inequalities, severe structural imbalances, deep-seated social damage and resource depletion resulting from decades of colonial and apartheid rule. This has to be done in conjunction with the interests and practices of other agents in the macro-environment like neighbouring African countries, other national economies which impact upon South Africa and the global political economy in general. Policy-making is always challenged by the dialectic of opportunity and constraint. Because of constraints policies are not necessarily what we would like them to be. Policy-making at best tends strongly to medium term responses to political and economic needs and demands, and at worst to resolving short-term crises. Long-term envisioning gets sacrificed in the play of contesting power, finding

workable consensus, retaining or strengthening one's constituency and moving a sluggish bureaucracy with its own rules and games.

Thus in a plural context with a democratic constitution, the most prominent emerging philosophical attitude may perhaps be encapsulated in one phrase: "If it works, do it". Cochrane warns that "raw pragmatism, especially when attached to a technocentric view on problem solving and an instrumentalist valorisation of management practice, makes it difficult for social visions to drive policy". Yet, it is in this very area of social visioning and a concomitant morality of the public good, that Cochrane locates the prime opportunity for a Christian theological view to make a contribution to policy.

What do the opportunities and constraints mean for a refreshed understanding of the public role of Christians, of theology? He identifies a new contextual role in the changed South African society after the Church's involvement in the liberation struggle – a role in reconstructing society, although he admits that regrettably little experience exists for it. Liberation theologians have not been able to direct the Church as to how to engage in a de-christianised, plural context in shaping public policy. This is particularly true in respect of important aspects of social reconstruction directly related to many of the prime concerns of liberation theologians and Christian ethicists in general (concerns about poverty, exploitation, human dignity, freedom, participation, health hazards, etc.). Cochrane is correct in stating that analysis of these ills, to mobilise against certain socio-political and economic ideologies and systems, is one thing, but that it does not equip people to participate in the task of reconstructing an existing society to deal adequately with these ills in the face of multiple demands on resources and inherently inadequate or scarce means. Cochrane rightly suggests that any contribution in this context must draw upon the history of the Church's involvement in a struggle for justice. This includes a role in acting as the "voice of the voiceless", the mediator of the marginalised and the supporter of local expressions of civil society.

According to Cochrane, the formal separation of Church and State and the constitutional recognition of religious pluralism – a new situation in SA – tend to drive even those churches best known for their position against apartheid into a regressive retreat into the private sphere or narrowed denominationalism, away from a clear vision of a role in the public sphere.

In his social analysis, Cochrane mentions the following challenges which have slid off the common agenda of many denominations and Christian commentators: massive poverty, unemployment, heavily skewed income gaps, land reform, xenophobia against immigrants from other African states, an appalling rate of abuse of women and children, the rising number of street children, HIV/Aids-pandemic (own insertion) and the continuing evidence of racism. And yet, although there is a vital need for educating the general public in the processes, procedures and institutions of democracy, and for giving them increased capacities to participate in these structures, they barely feature in church deliberations. Cochrane finds this significant because no NGO remotely approaches the reach of the Churches into virtually every local community in South Africa.

One thing that the Churches can learn from the State and its institutions is that in developing policies they make use of consultative strategies. Cochrane explains that one reason for the initiative by secular bodies is

and Smit³² in different forms and on different subjects made contributions to the South African debate.

However, Lategan³³ (cf. Botman's critique of Villa-Vicencio³⁴) attempts to go beyond Villa-Vicencio (1992) by stating that it is not sufficient to distinguish between different *publics* of theology (his critique on Tracy), but that other variables, such as *subject(s)* as

the fact that secular bodies have taken more seriously than the Churches a need to link policy formulation processes to "end-users" of policy, those people who will be directly affected by policies. In these consultative, fundamentally democratic impulses that lie behind these processes he finds substantial challenges for the Churches and their underlying ecclesiologies.

³¹ Conradie (1993: 24 – 49), in an article titled "How should a public way of doing theology be approached", states in summary that: (1) A plea for a public theology remains urgent and relevant in the light of the more elusive and hidden dangers in the areas of ecology, economy, technology and medicine in the South African Society. (2) It is also important to note that the necessity to defend the (cognitive) status of theological truth claims in the public (academic) sphere is not experienced as being equally urgent in South Africa. Something similar applies to the value attributed to theological contributions on ethical disputes in the public sphere. (3) Christian theology does play a role in public life in South Africa. One of the most valuable contributions that Christian theology may make in this regard is perhaps merely the vigorous and continuous use of existing public forums. (4) It is clear that there is no theological consensus on the more methodological question regarding how a public way of doing theology should be approached. What the role of theology in public life is or should be and how a public theology should be approached seem to be influenced by two factors: i) the denominational differences on the relation between Church and State, and ii) the power structures of particular churches and particular political powers.

³² Smit's contribution will be discussed in depth under 2.7.2

³³ Lategan (1995:231-229) in: De Gruchy and Martin (eds.), *Religion and the reconstruction of civil society*, 1995.

³⁴ Also Botman (2000:36-51) has attempted to move beyond what he calls Villa-Vicencio's "paradigm of engineering and mechanization". Over against a "theology of reconstruction" he wants to see a biblical developed theology that inspires critical loyalty, brings vision for the future, serves the Church, and mobilizes the priesthood of believers without sacrificing the prophetic task of theology (Botman 2000:46). He has proposed 'a theology of transformation' in his search for an option embedded in the ultimate question regarding obedience to God and the biblical design of socio-political responsibility. Botman's contribution in opposition to Villa-vicencio is of critical importance in view of human transformation, especially in the SA-context of suffering due to poverty, health hazards, violence, housing needs, civic provision of goods and services in a young democracy.

well as different *modes* in which theology is done, need to be taken into account. Lategan argues for different modes of discourse, which should play a supporting role in relation to each other, but the suitability and effectiveness of a particular discourse should be in direct relation to the purpose for which it is employed. He pleads for a theology that will move beyond its preoccupation with itself, beyond the validity of its own truth claims and beyond its resignation to not being able to influence civil society. He proposes therefore to move beyond what is understood as theological discourse and to explore the possibilities of a form of language that is not primarily interested in preserving the integrity of theology, but to serve a wider cause, i.e. to make a contribution to the process of developing and establishing a new public ethos. For such a discourse to succeed, he suggests very specific characteristics, viz.: (i) It needs to be non-prescriptive; (ii) The style needs to be inclusive; (iii) An interactive, participatory style of discourse is required; (iv) In order to be effective in a pluralistic public environment it requires a discourse that gives evidence of hermeneutical competence; (v) It needs to adopt a serving mode, losing and transcending itself to become liberated in service to the other; (vi) Without denying the importance of resistance and protest, public discourse needs to be constructive in the sense of a willingness to reach out, to build, to take responsibility and to jointly map out a possible course of action; (vii) Theology needs to transcend itself in the sense that it becomes anonymous.

Lategan's mode is important for academic discourse (his public discourse) in that it seeks to develop a value system in the context of civil society that will support the transition to an inclusive, democratic dispensation in South Africa. This is however only one mode or style directed at specific audiences that will continue to occupy the Church and theologians in their social responsibility in the public arena. Tracy's model has helped us greatly in getting clarity about the role the Church and theology can play in public regarding those addressed, and also regarding the cultivation of an authentic public life. It is especially Hütter, however, who has helped us to appreciate the Church as public within its own right. On the basis of these constructs, and in view of the South African context, I propose a different model, that of Smit (1996), who is in turn indebted to Huber (1973, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991) for the different relations in which the Church stands to the public of society.

It is the relational model of Smit (1996a: 119 – 126; 1996b: 190 – 204) that will fit my schema best because it presupposes the Church as public, but also expresses the unmistakable public character of the Church as it interacts with the different audiences within the third public – the society at large.

And yet, it is problematic to speak in terms of a comprehensive definition of the Church as if it is the religious sector of society. However, Smit (1996a: 119 – 126) is quite clear about the fact that there is “no timeless, context-less, always and generally acceptable unique place and role for and of the Christian Church within society”. Although he concedes that the Church is not a “unique societal relation (component)”, in the sense that it will always and everywhere look and function the same, he nevertheless states that the Church is a unique entity with a unique situatedness (place) and nature.

2.8 The Church in relation to other publics

In this section I will largely follow Smit (1996a: 119 – 126) in his argument that the Church, existing in the world and being integrated through its configurations in society, cannot be denied its own public place in the public square.

The Church, however, finds itself always in specific historical societies. How can we speak of the Church as a component of society? What is understood by “societal component” or a societal role of the Church? As far as the whole idea of church-in-society is concerned, taken into account the political and public developments of a modern, typically Western, secular, pluralistic democracy, what unique place and function are allocated to the Christian Church in such a situation? Should it be a question of having a place allocated to it? Or is it rather a question about the Church’s responsibility or calling in the world because it has a locale (Hütter 1997), it has a place, it is a public (cf. Huber 1973, Tracy 1981a and b, Conradie 1993, Villa-Vicencio 1992, Lategan 1995, Hütter 1997, etc.)?

As far as the Church's responsibility is concerned, it is not really a question of whether the Christian Church has a public responsibility, but rather what that responsibility is. Again, the answer to this question depends on the specific society in which the Church finds itself. However, concerning the practical implications thereof, it will only become clear once the concrete contours of the relevant society is taken into consideration (Smit 1996a: 119 – 126).

In order to gain clarity one should ask: What does “public relation”, public sphere and public responsibility mean?³⁵ In this section different ways of understanding the Church's relation with regard to the notion “public” is discussed. The emphasis could be on the state, on the economy, on civil society, or on public opinion (Smit 1996).³⁶ I have identified, and will now present, the following relations that have an impact on any understanding of the public role and ministry of the Church.

2.8.1 The Church in relation to the State

The first possibility is the more traditional approach, which is to juxtapose the Church and State (Smit 1996b: 190 – 193). The presupposition is then that the State, in the form of the governors, controls, ordains and regulates the political power and the public life. No differentiation is made between the political and the public sphere, as the expression *res publica* (for the good of the public) demonstrates for the political terrain. The assumption is made that the State largely determines the nature and quality of life. But this has all radically changed in the modern world. It is in this context that the question about the relation between Church and State is posed in

³⁵ The expression itself is of relatively recent origin, a product of modern developments and politico-philosophical theories since the Enlightenment (Cf. especially Habermas 1994; Calhoun 1993; especially informative is Huber 1987, 1990a, 1991a, 1994a, 1995; also Fowler 1991; Hessel 1993; Thiemann 1992 in Smit, 1996).

³⁶ The researcher finds Smit's distinction valuable within the framework of the Church as public. Smit (1996b: 190 – 193) discerns at least these four discourses about the public sphere and thus about the public responsibility of the Church, which he derives from Huber's theory of public in *Kirche und Öffentlichkeit* with regard to the four referential spheres of state, economy, civil society and cultural communication.

numerous ways: What should the Church's political role be in a modern, pluralistic, secular and democratic nation-state? Not even the State plays the same role in a democratic society as it used to do in an autocracy, or a one party or fascist state.

In view of the phenomenon of globalisation, the nation state's hegemony has also been referred to as diminishing.³⁷ Although a government's first duty is to raise its people's standard of living, the agents of globalisation – the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, The World Trade Organisation – dictate their economic preferences regarding favourable investments that should precede social upliftment by means of the “structural adjustment plan” to the third-world countries. Such institutions restructure nation-state governments in a very subtle way and insist on privatisation of all state-controlled assets. Institutions like multinationals settle where costs are lowest, irrespective of where their end product is marketed. This places the onus on the host countries. In order to compete for international investment, they have to provide infrastructure, a safe social situation, an environment-friendly context, a healthy economic structure and low labour costs (Pieterse 2001: 56 – 60). These very dubious steps have had absolutely devastating effects on economies around the world.

But what about the role of the Church? Fundamentalists groups (of different religious persuasions) might still wish for a religious state where the Church has influence on legislation that would be to its advantage. The unique nature of the Church as public might then still be that it would have the monopoly to make absolute and authoritative pronouncements on behalf of God, which the state has to obey or at least has to respect. Outside the

³⁷ Mette in Ballard and Coutoure (1999: 20), when speaking about the deregulating effect of economic globalisation on the nation state, refers to the role of the state as being reduced to “nightwatchman”. The economic regulatory intervention of the government in the economy is not tolerated.

normal democratic processes this kind of influence and privilege would not be realisable (Smit 1996: 193 – 194).

Even in the post-apartheid democratic dispensation, the Church, whether it was collaborating with the state or opposing the State as prophetic church, cannot argue that the Church as unique public should now concentrate on its spiritual role. This argument, although containing certain elements of truth, harbours dangerous temptations. Due to its own nature and calling, the Church cannot leave the political sphere totally in the hands of the State. As much as the State in a democratic society influences the quality of life (of people, of creation and of future generations), the Church has the calling to pay attention to it, to be involved in it and to guard it (Smit 1996: 194).

The dangerous temptation for the Church embedded in modernism (as institutionalised and implemented in democracy and market economy) is to marginalise religion to an inner or private affair. The essential nature of secularisation does not exist in denying God but in banishing Him to the inner and private sphere. As far as the State and politics are concerned, the presupposition is that religious persuasions do not play a role within these spheres anymore. In its extreme institutionalised form, this kind of perception leads to a division between Church and State, by which all sorts of religious convictions are strongly kept out of political and government life (Smit 1996: 194)

South African churches know out of experience that the unique nature of the Church does not mean it should withdraw from the governmental and political processes, but that it should be critically involved as church.

2.8.2 The Church in relation to Market Economy

A second possibility, according to Smit (1996b), to speak about the Church's responsibility in society, flows from the growing insight into the

key role of the (market) economy. In modern times after the Enlightenment, with the increasing industrialisation, urbanisation and the centralisation of economic activities in the Western world, a new society came into existence. The market economy is increasingly detached from the home sphere. The influence of the economy on the quality of people's lives became more important – in essence more important than the influence of politics and the State.³⁸ The concept “public sphere” is in its German form (*Öffentlichkeit*) an artificial creation of the late eighteenth century. During this time the terms “public”, “public sphere” and “publicity” became very popular in German, French and English. Together they describe the discovery of this new terrain, according to which the interest of individuals is being served and the power of the State is being tempered, as of great importance.

Wherever it is realised that this public sphere is greatly influence and controlled by economic forces, the discourse about the Church's public role is to a great extent about the Church's responsibility in regards to the economy.³⁹

However, it is the phenomenon of economic globalisation to which the Churches have reacted with great theological conviction. Theologians in developing countries responded sharply to the harmful effects of a global economy. They enquired whether economic globalisation is not in fact a new form of colonialism (Pieterse 2001: 60 – 64). Gorostiaga (1998)

³⁸ Smit (1996b) argues aptly that Hegel makes it clear how the *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* developed as something radically new, as a third sphere between the private sphere of individual and family and the political sphere of the State. In this civil society, or the public sphere, the rising citizenry try to empower themselves over against political power and interference, and try to serve and improve the quality of their lives.

³⁹ It is very interesting to note that Smit, with reference to Preston (1983), is of the opinion that many churches do not yet recognise this responsibility, and that they still focus on the issue about the Church's public role in relation to the State, while in the English-speaking countries it is in the first place about the Church's calling in relation to the public economic sphere.

maintained that a crisis is developing in world civilisation because of the concentration of technological, political and military power in rich Western countries to the exclusion of the world's majorities. The global village has a society consisting of two classes: the rich and successful enclaves, and the poor who are excluded from markets. The end of the Cold War has heralded a triumphalism and optimism in the West, a new conservative revolution with a neo-liberal economic-programme implemented by the corporate establishment. The premise of neo-liberalism is the autonomy of the free market. This market, it is said, has its own, internal law, which neither the state nor theology and ethics may inhibit. It is argued that the free market is free from moral considerations and ethical intervention as well (Smit 1996, Pieterse 2001). The best way to serve the common good is for everyone to pursue his or her own interests as effectively as possible. It is not without reason that terms like 'convictions', "faith", "confidence" and "good" are being bandied about in order to understand the foundations of modern economics.

Christian faith communities, who are concerned about God's people and His creation, cannot accept this faith conviction as a final premise. That is why the World Council of Churches, The Lutheran World Federation and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches are currently engaged in studies of economics as a religious issue. A process of study, analysis, teaching and confession is needed in regard to economic realities. Since these highly complex realities are crucial for the present and future of human life, theology and the Church have to take them very seriously indeed (Smit 1996, Pieterse 2001).

But what could be the unique role of the Church as church? Smit (1996) suggests that the Church as unique public relation should pay attention to at least three sets of questions. The Church should ask for a society in which economic justice is practised, and about the Church's own responsibility in

this regard. In general, it would mean that the Church keeps the dream of social justice alive, that it should witness for life and against conditions of death and misery, and that it remains the champion of the voiceless and all marginalised.

Secondly, the Church should ask how people could be formed and educated who on their own could be economically just. By mean of its own example, its witness and teaching the Church shall have to train and equip people for a virtuous life in order that they may not selfishly strive for their own interest, but that they shall care for those in need. Thirdly, the Church shall have to ask how the believers in the face of economic challenges should come to responsible ethical judgements and action. The Church needs to give guidance and take the lead in this regard (Smit 1996).

2.8.3 The Church in relation to peoples' empowerment

A third possibility to speak about the Church's responsibility in society emanates from the increasing realisation that people can empower and equip themselves in many ways by organising their own lives. A variety of public relations organisations, or institutions, or societies, or movements came into existence in the aftermath of the Enlightenment. They all offer individuals ways of improving their quality of life, to satisfy their own needs, to further their own interest and especially to put their stamp on their society in such a profound manner that the State and the economy would not be able to directly exercise their influence on it. As a matter of fact, a great part of philosophical and juridical thinking is dedicated to organise the relationships between these separate relations and the State and between these relations mutually, in order that they do not interfere in each other's territories and threaten each other's autonomy and sovereignty.

These public life institutions vary from "close (secret)" to "public", from cultural, educational, agricultural, academic and juridical to interest groups,

voluntary organisations, societies and many more. In this respect the term "civil society" is usually applied.⁴⁰ This expression has for the past decades become a popular slogan in most divergent contexts (Smit, 1996: 190). Sometimes it is used as a call, in totalitarian societies, for the citizens to unite in civil action and to organize, often in non-government organisations (NGOs), to oppose the power of the state system and to work collectively for greater freedom and a better quality of life. It is sometimes used as a call, in highly individualistic liberal democracies, to reprimand the individual of collective responsibility regarding the quality of their local education, the safety of the neighbourhood, the justness of their judiciary and the orderly management of their environment. But the liberal democracy, it is being argued, also carries the germ of its own destruction within it. Because it gives people the individual freedom to live and to do as they please, they also receive the freedom in their individualistic irresponsibility to do nothing, not to become involved, not to co-operate with others and not to accept responsibility. Not to be involved means to withdraw from the public sphere and to leave it empty and vulnerable for powers of chaos to take over. People live in and by institutions, especially in a democracy (so the slogan goes) and they must accept their public responsibility (cf. Neuhaus 1984; Bellah et al. 1985 and 1991 in Smit, 1996: 192).

It is within this discourse that many Christians will hear the question regarding the Church as a unique public relation. The hidden presupposition is then: the Church is a public institution or organisation in which people who share a mutual interest, in this case the practice of their Christian religion, organise themselves voluntarily. The Church is sovereign and autonomous. The State should interfere as little as possible in ecclesiastical affairs. The State should indeed, by recognising and guaranteeing freedom

⁴⁰ In this regard Smit (1996) refers to Bellah et al. 1995; Cohen & Arato 1992; Mudge 1992; Seligman 1992; Shanks 1992; Smit 1996a.

of religion, create the space for the Church to be church within its own public and within the public arena. The relationship between the Church and State should therefore be regulated by normal legal administration.

In addition to this, the South African churches should realise the importance of a healthy civil society and should do their level best to promote it. The reinforcement of many institutions in which people live, including schools and other institutions of learning, life in neighbourhoods, jurisprudence, local government, safety, health, cultural and social initiatives etc., are of the greatest importance for the nature and quality of life. These institutions protect people from the autocracy of State and economy. Simultaneously, these institutions form and cultivate people to live with character and in responsibility amongst and for one another as responsible citizens.

In addition, morality must be formed, cultivated and instilled. In order to achieve this, institutions within society are needed. People, even within a democratic society, with the necessary information would not act with insight to further the common good. This assumption is based on the wrong premise. This humanistic conviction that people under ideal conditions would naturally strive with insight, morale and without selfishness for the promotion of the common good is an illusion.

The Church as a unique public relation should regard it as its own calling to promote issues like character formation, identity, virtues, tradition, community, authority, discipline, role models and examples. It should indeed strive to be the kind of community in which these processes are promoted and formation takes place. More and more the Church is being challenged to become a kind of exemplary alternative community. But the Church should not over-estimate its own importance as the alternative society in a sectarian way. The full recognition of the importance of the civil society would assist the Church, as a component of that society, not to

overestimate its own importance. The recognition of the key functions of the civil institutions in people's lives would help the Church to fully think through the relationship and to appreciate the value of these institutions for the people's lives. The Church as unique societal relation should be present in all these terrains and fulfil its calling in partnership with all of civil society's institutions.

2.8.4 The Church in relation to Public Values: the Quality of Human Life

A fourth possibility to speak about the public role of the Church is connected to the discontentment, the concern of many people about the empty or naked public sphere.⁴¹ In the usage of the term "public", it is brought to bear in the development of terms such as *public opinion*, *public media*, and *publicity*. People continuously realise that, however important these institutions of the civil society may be for the quality of humans living together, it is not enough.

There is a need for a greater mutual discourse about the kind of life and society that people want. There is a need for cultural communication, for a continuous conversation (a speaking-together) and a mutual consideration over the nature of the relevant society, the mutual values on which the society is based, the mutual challenges that must be met and the priorities that must be established. A public opinion must be formed so that the common qualities of human life, the common good,⁴² can be striven for. Enough information should be made available and disseminated to enable the public to develop an informed opinion formation, and this process must be as free from indoctrination, coercion, propaganda and other influences, which could hinder the formation of a true public opinion. Good publicity

⁴¹ This concept is borrowed from Neuhaus, 1984 (cf. Hollenbach 1976: 292) as a sphere where no attention is any longer given to the moral (and indeed religious) dimensions of social, political and especially economic life

⁴² Cf. De Gruchy (1995: 263-265) for an explanation on the "common good" within a democratic society.

and free, effective and trustworthy public media is therefore of the greatest importance, as well as forums, rooms and spaces where this public discourse about mutual interest can really take place. In the absence of all these requirements it stands to reason that the formation of true public opinion would be severely hampered (cf. Smit, 1996: 192).

It is also possible to understand the public role of the Church primarily from within this relation. The questions posed are: How can the Church contribute to the public discourse about mutual interest (common good)? How can the Church assist participation in the debate about mutual values? How can the Church help to spread essential information and help to conscientise the public? How can the Church help inform people about their civil rights and civil duties? How can the Church help to solve conflicts about issues of mutual public interest? How can the Church be instrumental in building a caring society?

The most effective way of getting a church involved in public witness through its congregation is by means of justice ministries in the public arena. Jacobsen (2001) calls it "Church Based Community Organizing" (CBCO).⁴³ Dudley (1996: 48 – 50) in turn has identified five patterned self-images by which congregations develop programmes, recruit members, raise funds, make decisions and, for our purposes here, develop justice ministries. In Chapter 7 these modes will be harnessed to assist the MCSA in equipping its ministers and the laity to engage the public arena with the kingdom values.

⁴³ The researcher at present is an executive member of CBCO Western Cape, which has been launched in 2001 at a public rally in Athlone, Cape Town. At the moment CBCO Western Cape has a membership of 58 churches from different denominations. CBCO-WCP has identified 3 issues on which it has gone public, viz organised crime, shebeens and drugs, unemployment and poverty. Cf. CS Dudley (1996) on the same issue of organising churches for community ministry in his book *Next Steps in Community Ministry*.

2.9 Summary

In benchmarking the MCSA's role in its history, the findings from the exploration of the public church landscape, as well as the relations in which the Church stands in its public responsibility to the society at large, will be applied. The understanding of the Church as public and the Church in relation to society is important. In this regard, the relations between Church and State, Church and market economy, Church and people's empowerment, Church and public values (the quality of human life) will be applied as a theoretical framework to assess the possibilities and constraints of being a public church. With regard to the future role of the Church as public sphere, given the external environment within which it exists, the challenges it faces due to the needs of the society in which it finds itself, its self-understanding in view of its calling and its capacity for fulfilling the perceived or enforced role, a mode for public witness, based on Jacobson and Dudley's models, will be designed.

As this research will mainly deal with the publics of the Church as the believing community and the Church in relation to its witness (theology) in the public sphere of the society at large, the meta-theoretical principle of the public church and the epistemological framework will assist in implementing an historical analysis of the Moravian Church in respect of its public role. Was there an understanding in the Moravian Church, given the conditions at the time, of a public role of the Moravian Church or of the Church in general? Were there challenges facing the Church, that could have created the space for the Church to be a public church? What were the opportunities and the constraints in the history of the MCSA?

Of equal importance to the major body of this research are the dimensions of memory and expectation, which can be called the critical hermeneutic of Missional Theology. Memory is viewed as subjugated knowledge by historiography from the missionaries' perspective. And yet, the missionaries were also children of their time, products of their upbringing and of the prevalent social conditions and structures. They were champions of the faith who obeyed God's call to share the story, wrapped in their culture and worldview, to aboriginal people on the under-side of the earth. They came to live amongst European farmers (most of them from pauper cultural and low educational

background) who missed out on the cultural and general human development curve of the transition from feudalism to the Enlightenment (in 18th century Europe). People of their kind who became masters regarded all people other than themselves as objects of labour inferior to them, soft targets ready to be exploited and dehumanised.

Therefore, this research is also about the restoration of human dignity by means of historical rediscovery, of re-establishing person-hood, of instilling pride in a positive sense and of depositing moral fabric for future generations of indigenous people. This research is a critical hermeneutic of rediscovering the truth regarding the Moravian Mission and the life world of the indigenous people to whom the missionaries ministered.

This research undertakes to start a process of historical-hermeneutic reconstruction of Christian praxis within the Moravian Church in South Africa (MCSA) in helping people to realise that to be from this soil – where their “umbilical cord lies buried”⁴⁴ – is their greatest bio-cultural heritage, and has liberating political implications. The researcher is motivated by a collective memory in the story of the Moravian Mission from “below”, which lies deposited in reports, in minutes and in the physical artefacts of buildings and settlements. More importantly, it is apparent in the lifestyle, traditions, ethos and symbols of the living indigenous Moravians from which this research project starts. And as the researcher engages with these living scripts and historical documents and buildings,⁴⁵ new insights will be born that will help to uncover the silent partners and authors of history in their lives and witness within the MCSA in context.

The indigenous people of history had expectations of the Mission and of the Church in their life-world under the dominant ruling forces and systems of power and money. What is the potential of the collective memory for today, and what are the expectations of and

⁴⁴ Original Khoi-Khoi proverb, used largely by people from the Enon Moravian settlement in the Eastern Cape.

⁴⁵ Cf. Le Grange (1991) gives a detailed description and documentation of the geo-space, layout and town planning of the mission stations and the architectural value of the historical buildings of the MCSA.

for the MCSA in a democratic dispensation? This needs to be discovered by means of the epistemological framework.

In order to come to an analysis of the public role the MCSA played in its missionary era and the later phase as an autonomous church, the research firstly requires an understanding of the situatedness (in its broadest sense) of the subject under discussion. An historical overview of the Moravian Church is therefore warranted, followed by an in-depth study of the specific areas as delineated in the chapter demarcation (chapters 3 – 6).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The Moravian Church is historically a settlement-church in the rural areas, where church and society are one under the auspices of the Church. Even with 10% urban congregations (cf. the *Directory in the Daily Texts of the Moravian Church* 2003: 170 – 190), most, if not all of those congregants have got rural ties with the mission settlements. This leaves Moravians with a strong sense of belonging in a spatial sense, but also in a cultural and traditionally religious sense.

CHAPTER 3

THE MORAVIAN MISSION (1738 – 1815) IN THE CONTEXT OF *CUES REGIO EUS RELIGIO*⁴⁷

Liberation movements have no stake in a mythological history, which falsifies the past . . . we search history anxiously, trying to understand the sources of its massive failure. We look for signs of hope that a new beginning is possible.

(Reuther, 1975: xii)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter a brief historical overview of the Moravian Church (3.2 – 3.3.7) will be given to depict its history and ethos from its founding in Bohemia/Moravia (1457), to the indigenisation of the Moravian Church in South Africa in Baviaanskloof (1737) and up to the establishment of the one Moravian Church in the new democratic South Africa (1998). This will be followed by an in-depth study of the mission (3.4) in a context where the principle of *ceus regio eus religio* was the status quo. This issue is posed in order to discover how the Moravian Mission conducted itself within an alien political setting.

3.2 An historical overview of the Moravian church in respect of the MCSA (1457 – 1998)

3.2.1 The origin of the Moravian Church

The history of the Moravian Church in South Africa goes back to the founding of the first Protestant Church in Bohemia in 1457.⁴⁸ Followers of the teachings of Huss⁴⁹ and Peter of Chelsic⁵⁰ did not feel at home in

⁴⁷ The principle arrangement after the Reformation according to which the ruler could determine which confessional group (be it Catholic or Reformed) was to be allowed in his domain.

⁴⁸ Cf. Nielsen, WS 1999: 20; Van der Linde, JM, 1979: 13; Eller, EM 1952: 33 – 34; Hutton, JE 1909: 47; Holmes, J 1825: 44.

⁴⁹ For a brief overview of the life and teachings of Huss, see Hutton, 1909: 17 – 27.

the Roman Catholic Church anymore due to the immorality and secular lives of the priests and, very importantly, the fact that lay people could not drink out of the cup at the Eucharist. Subsequently, they broke away from the Church to form a movement under Gregory the Patriarch. Gregory founded a settlement with his faithful friends on the northeast border of Bohemia in the village of Kunwalde in 1457 (Cf. Hutton, 1909: 46). Many people from all over Moravia and Bohemia came to Kunwalde – nobility, academics and peasants, who longed to be at peace and to follow their Master Jesus Christ and him alone.

In 1467 they met in the first Synod and chose three persons from their midst as the first ministers of the newly founded Church called the Jednota Batrska, translated into Latin as the *Unitas Fratrum* (The Unity of the Brethren).⁵¹ From amongst the three a bishop was elected in the person of Michael. Consecration was sought at the ancient order of the Waldencese.⁵² This Episcopal succession was believed to be unbroken since the Apostolic Church. At long last the Unity of the Brethren was a true Apostolic and Old Catholic Church. For their constitution they took the Sermon on the Mount. It became the only rule of faith and life – in business, in pleasure and in civil duties. What made the Brethren's Church shine so brightly in Bohemia before Luther's days were not their doctrine, but their lives, not their theory, but their practice, not their opinion, but their discipline. It called forth the admiration of Calvin, and drove Luther to despair. In later years they were known as *Fatres Legis Christi* – brothers of the Law of Christ (Hutton, 1909: 71 – 72).

⁵⁰ The followers of Peter of Chelcic (1419 – 1450), viz. the Brethren of Chelcic, can be assumed to have lain the foundation of the Church of the Brethren.

⁵¹ Cf Holmes, 1825: 50; Hutton, 1909: 52.

⁵² Peter Valdes, the founder of the movement, was converted in 1173. Pope Innocense III acknowledged the Movement in 1208.

The Church grew to a 100,000 strong membership within a short space of time. Unfortunately, the Thirty Years Religious Wars (1620 – 1650) broke out and almost wiped out the Church.⁵³ Many of them fled into Poland and other parts of Europe, while only a “hidden seed” remained who worshipped secretly in caves and forests. It was to these members that a fellow son of the soil, Jan Amos Komensky (Lat. Comenius), referred to as the “Hidden Seed”, and for whom he prayed that the Lord would preserve them and restore his Church (Hutton, 1909: 172).

3.2.2 The Renewed Moravian Church

The Church was renewed in 1727⁵⁴ after Christian David, a Catholic from Moravia who later became a member of the Moravian Church, succeeded in finding asylum in 1722 on the estate of a German nobleman, Count Von Zinzendorf, a Pietist within the Lutheran Church.⁵⁵ A village was laid on, called Herrnhut, and many fugitives, mostly from Moravia, came to live at Herrnhut.⁵⁶ Hence the name Herrnhuters or Moravians. Zinzendorf literally hid the Moravians of Herrnhut under the Lutheran Church,⁵⁷ according to the Pietist conventical idea (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*),⁵⁸ for the territory was Lutheran and therefore only Lutherans could worship there. However, Zinzendorf's life became so entwined with that of his tenants that he was drawn more and more into the centre of their religious and communal life. He even started to minister to them and to do house visitations. After having read writings by Komensky, he was so overwhelmed by the apparent death wish of the former bishop of the

⁵³ Cf. Hutton, 1909: 150 – 169; Holmes, 1825: 100, 121; Hamilton, 1967: 13.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hamilton, 1967: 23 – 34 for the “Rebirth of the Unity of the Brethren”.

⁵⁵ Cf. Holmes, 1825: 165; Hutton, 1909: 196; Hamilton, 1967: 16.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hutton, 1909: 197 – 211 for the “founding of Herrnhut, 1722 – 1727”; Hamilton, 1967: 23 – 33.

⁵⁷ According to Hutton (1909: 228) Zinzendorf “wanted to preserve the Moravian Church inside the Lutheran Church”.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hutton (1909: 182) for the origin of the idea in the Collegia Pietatis founded by Philip Spener, which came to be known in Germany as “Churches within the Church”.

Unitas Fratrum that he felt called to wholeheartedly serve this Old Catholic Church. Up till then, Zinzendorf never thought of the Moravian Church as a separate church, but wanted it to become the umbrella body (the Arc) for all God's children out of the other denominations (his ecumenical idea)⁵⁹. However, their strong convictions and tradition gained the upper hand when in 1727 the community experienced a renewal known as the "Moravian Pentecost", the ancient Church was reborn (Hamilton, 1967: 60).

Zinzendorf later even became a bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church, which he faithfully served with his life and possessions.⁶⁰ From 1732 to 1737 the Moravian Church became the first Church to send out missionaries to the West Indies (amongst the Negro slaves), Greenland (amongst the Eskimos) and to the Cape (amongst the Khoi-Khoi) successively.⁶¹

⁵⁹ According to Hamilton (1967: 63), Zinzendorf "intended . . . not to encourage separation of Herrnhut from Lutheran ties . . . or to lead to the organisation of an independent Moravian Church".

⁶⁰ Zinzendorf was consecrated as bishop by two bishops from the *Unitas Fratrum*, viz, Jablonski and Nitschmann. According to Hamilton (1967: 67), "This act can be regarded as another factor in the emergence of the Moravian Church. It was intended to give Zinzendorf authority to speak for the Moravians in their negotiations with the civil and ecclesiastical officials throughout Europe"; which at that stage was already a strategic act of the Church with a view of its public engagement.

⁶¹ Cf. Hutton (1909: 234 – 254), for a overview of the foreign missions by the Moravian pioneers from 1732 till 1742. "We call the Moravians the pioneers of modern missions. They were the first Protestant Church in Christendom to undertake the conversion of the heathen. They sent out . . . missionaries as authorised agents of the Church". Kuiper, BK (1975: 278) affirms this testimony by stating: "To the Moravians belongs everlastingly the honour of being the First Protestant body to take seriously the Great Commission".

3.2.3 The South African Mission Outreach

3.2.3.1 *Georg Schmidt and the beginning of the Moravian Church in South Africa*

In 1737, a missionary of Bohemian descent, Georg Schmidt, was sent via Holland to convert the Khoi-Khoi.⁶² He started off amongst the Khoi-Khoi⁶³ in 1737 in Zoetenmelksvlei in the valley of the *Zondereind* River. He later moved to Baviaanskloof where his flock counted twenty-eight. He taught them to read and write in Dutch, encouraged them to make gardens and allotted them plots.⁶⁴

Schmidt's mission was full of hardships and tribulation from the beginning. A pastoral letter written by the Church Council of Amsterdam in 1738 branded the Herrnhuters as a "mystical society spreading dangerous opinions detrimental to the pure doctrine under the cover of evangelical simplicity".⁶⁵ Fortunately for Schmidt four *dominees* of Amsterdam protested against the letter and sent writing to the Cape to counteract the open letter (Krüger, 1966: 23).

On the other hand, the farmers in the surroundings of his mission settlement were embittered because the governor forbade them to trade cattle with the Khoi-Khoi. When they learnt that Schmidt even had success with the teaching of the Khoi-Khoi, their initial ridicule turned into enmity.

⁶² Cf. Krüger, 1966: 15; Hutton, 1909: 243; Balie, 1988: 11; For a short CV of Schmidt see Bredekamp, HC and Hattingh, JL (Eds.) 1981: 19 – 25; see also Müller, K (1923) for the only standard biography on the life and person of Georg Schmidt.

⁶³ Throughout this research project the term Khoi-Khoi will be used as this seems to be in line with contemporary research practice.

⁶⁴ Cf. Georg Schmidt's letters dated 23 December 1737 and 23 April 1738 (Bredekamp HC and Hattingh JL 1981: 37 – 63).

⁶⁵ Lütjeharms, 1935: 226; see also Krüger, 1966: 23.

To make things even worse, the *dominees* were against him and the acting Governor wanted him out of the country. When Schmidt baptised five of his converts on account of a written permission (his ordination by proxy) from Zinzendorf and Bishop Von Watteville, the combined Church Council of the three Cape congregations strongly protested against his work to the Classis in the Netherlands. According to them, he was not ordained in the traditional Reformed (prescribed) manner. They requested that Schmidt be deported for he might even proceed to baptise the children of the simple colonists on the other side of the mountains, not in easy reach of the *dominees*. Taking everything into account, the *dominees* must take the blame for asserting their racial superiority and ecclesiastical authority over the Khoi-Khoi, without making any missionary attempt on their behalf. Their negative attitude in this respect reflected the feelings of the colonists in the Cape at the time. When Schmidt left in 1744, he listed a twenty-six-member congregation.

During the fifty years after Schmidt's departure, the work, however simplistic, was continued by Christian, Josua and Magdalena (Vehetga Tekoa), some of Schmidt's converts. Even after 1756, they gathered the others occasionally under the pear tree in Schmidt's garden reading from the New Testament and praying together. From later records we learn that some of his flock taught their children to read, as well as to pray in a very simple way. They continued to live in the neighbourhood, waiting for Schmidt's return.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Cf. Krüger, B 1966 – 46. See also *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt*.

3.2.3.2 *The Continuation of the Mission work under Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel*⁶⁷

In 1793, the Moravian mission work was restarted amongst the Khoi-Khoi at Baviaanskloof when the Mission Board in Herrnhut sent Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel. They found the Khoi-Khoi living in the same manner as they had done fifty years earlier, but they had become poorer, having lost much of their cattle. This time the mission work enjoyed official recognition in that the Governor publicly notified the civilians that Khoi-Khoi who wanted to go to Baviaanskloof should not be held back. Thus a new and hopeful beginning had been made for the follow-up of Schmidt's arduous, pioneering labours. Subsequently, many Khoi-Khoi flocked to Baviaanskloof, amongst them also the descendants of Schmidt's converts. This showed that a whole group of people had been deeply and permanently influenced by him, revelling and abiding in his teachings, unaided over a period of fifty years.

Unfortunately, the Moravian mission settlement had no security of tenure and no fixed boundaries. Thus, from the start the rush of people to Baviaanskloof led to incessant difficulties with regard to garden plots, grazing and other movements of the community. The problems with the farmers continued. The farmers, whose economic position was threatened by the shortage of farmhands, blamed it on the mission settlement. Some farmers in the interior envied the Khoi-Khoi and coloureds for their education while they were still illiterate. Over and above that the problems with the DR Church continued. The *dominees* at Stellenbosch questioned the capacity and authority of the missionaries and even complained about the ringing of the Church bell at Baviaanskloof.

⁶⁷ Unless otherwise stated, the information for this overview comes from the *Genadendal Diaries* (Vol. I 1992 & Vol. II 1999); Balie, I (1988); Krüger B (1966).

3.2.3.3 *Genadendal and the expansion of the work*

In 1804, after Governor Jansen was defeated at Blaauwbergstrand by the English, he agreed (as one of his last official tasks) with Kohrhammer, the superintendent of the Moravian Mission at the time, that a name change for Baviaanskloof to Genadendal could take place and he officially recommended it.

Life at Genadendal changed for the inhabitants. From that time onwards, overseers were elected by the people to enforce the Brotherly Agreement⁶⁸ that regulated the life of the inhabitants. Together with the missionaries they took responsibility for the everyday life in the settlement. People were trained as artisans and had to work for their living. Strict moral codes were enforced. Every family had to have their own dwelling.

In 1810, another mission settlement at Groenekloof (later Mamre), north east of Cape Town, was offered to the mission. The Governor did not satisfy the Khoi-Khoi captain Klapmuts at all with this arrangement because the concession included his property as well.

When the British Government took measures against slavery by prohibiting the trading of slaves in 1807, two slaves were offered to the mission as apprentices for 14 years. The Conference of Elders of the Mission however declined the offer on the grounds that only voluntary confessional followers of the Saviour were gathered into their flock.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ This concept and ordering of the communal life (see addendum A) is a central dimension to community life of the Moravian settlements that will receive extensive attention throughout this research.

⁶⁹ This was true to the Moravian spirit despite "the time of ignorance, which God overlooked" (Acts 17: 30) when the Moravians in the West Indies, Wachau and Bethlehem in the mid-eighteenth century "used Christianity to humanise and legitimise slavery simultaneously" (Sensbach, JF 1998: 19 – 73).

Contrary to general belief not only Khoi-Khoi, but also European soldiers, sailors and others came to live on the mission settlements and got married to indigenous women. Nguni also came to live on the mission settlements. When in 1809 the Governor legislated that the Fish River would be the boundary of the Colony, all Africans, if they wanted to remain in the colony, had to move to the mission settlements of the Moravians. Thus many Africans moved to Genadendal and Mamre. Among those who came was an educated Xhosa woman, the wife of a Settler, called Buys, who lived in the Langkloof. She was baptised Wilhelmine⁷⁰ and became the nursemaid of the missionaries' children. She fervently desired that the missionaries would proclaim the gospel amongst her people. She started to teach the missionary children the fundamentals of her language. One of the children, Johann Adolph Bonantz, became a pioneer of the Moravian African mission outreach.

3.2.3.4 *The Work under Hallbeck*⁷¹

By 1818 another mission settlement was founded by the new superintendent Hallbeck in the Eastern Cape in the Sunday River valley on the recommendation of the governor. This settlement, named Enon, was established with inhabitants from Genadendal amongst who was Wilhelmine Stompjes. The aim of the mission at Enon was to bring the gospel nearer to the African people. Of course, the Governor's intention was to have a "civilised outpost" nearer to the border. The Governor even suggested to the Xhosa chief, Ngqika (alias Ghaika), who reigned east of the Fish River, to send his children to a Moravian school. His intention was of course politically based.

In 1824, the Mission at the Cape bought its own property for the first time. Until then all the settlements were "grant stations". A farm,

⁷⁰ For a CV of Wilhelmine Stompjes, born Amavulani, see Schmidt, L.R. Undated: 82 – 85

⁷¹ This overview is based upon Krüger, 1966: 120 – 291.

Vogelstruiskraal in the Strandveldt near Cape Agulhas, was bought and named Elim. From now on every newcomer would know that she or he settled on Mission property. Bonatz, the missionary, endeavoured from the beginning to give the congregation an ecumenical outlook. Farmers, Khoi-Khoi, slaves and other Europeans from the neighbourhood regularly attended services. The children of the neighbouring farmers even attended Sunday school with those of the settlement.

In 1828, the Moravians extended their activities to the African tribes beyond the Fish River. A mission settlement was established amongst the Tembus on the request of Chief Bawana. Hallbeck was conscious of the fact that Bawana had no longing for the Gospel, because it was high fashion amongst the African chiefs to boast about having a missionary. The Governor on his part supported the project mainly for political reasons. However, he considered that the Lord had opened the door by using human ambition and fear for his purpose. Lemmertz, Hoffmann, Wilhelmina and a number of Khoi-Khoi and African inhabitants of Enon agreed to start the first Moravian mission settlement along the Klipplaat, later named Shiloh. In 1832, Johann Adolph Bonatz arrived back in the Colony, having completed his studies in Europe, and was called to Shiloh where his nanny, Wilhelmina, further instructed him in Xhosa. Remaining in Shiloh for twenty-six years, Johann became the real European pioneer of the Moravian Mission amongst the Xhosa people.

Under Hallbeck's management Genadendal became the centre for education and industry. The school was enlarged and indigenous teachers were trained. An infant school was started. All the mission settlements were supplied with a school, a mill, a shop and the inhabitants trained as artisans. Some became masons, carpenters, tanners, thatchers, cart-wrights, dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, blacksmiths and silversmiths. Others were engaged in the agricultural industry. On 12 September 1838, a double story

training school was dedicated for the training of teachers. People from different places came to be trained at the first indigenous teacher-training school in South Africa. From amongst the first graduates the first indigenous minister, Carl Jonas, was ordained after many years of faithful service.

The mission settlements also played a major role in harbouring the freed slaves in 1838. A special thanksgiving service was held at Genadendal for the 818 people who were integrated into the mission settlements. By 1868 the mission work had expanded tremendously in the West as well as in the East. So much so, that there were 12 congregations with a total membership of 8,815, 25 missionaries, 19 indigenous assistants and 18 schools.

3.2.3.5 *The division of the work* ⁷²

At the General Synod, which gathered at Herrnhut in 1869, decisions were taken that had far-reaching implications for the work in South Africa:

- The creation of self-supporting churches, ministered by their own workers;
- The differentiation between the Mission and its employees, which had to decrease, and the Indigenous Church and its workers, which had to increase;
- The division of the Cape Mission into two provinces.

The latter was motivated by the following realities:

- Geographical distances incurred great expenses;
- More effective administration from Shiloh for the East;
- The East felt that the work amongst the Xhosa-speaking section had a character different from that of the West;
- Language was also a major factor in the division: The congregations of Clarkson and Enon, geographically part of the East, chose to join the

⁷² This overview is based on information from Krüger, 1960: 272-291; Nielsen, 1999:26-442; Krüger and Schaberg 1984:1-166; Schmidt, undated: 1-267.

West because they spoke Dutch. It was an ethnic rather than a racial division. Clarkson ministered to the Fingos in the Tsitsikamma and the coloured members of Shiloh remained part of the East.

- The older Western Province would advance more quickly towards self-support, free from the financial responsibility for the young and still expanding Eastern Province.

Each of the two provinces henceforth followed its own course.

The focus in the following section is on the SAW reaching its autonomy in relation to the policies of the world-wide Moravian Church. The attention will therefore be shifted to the SAW in order to illustrate the tension between missionaries and the quest for selfhood by the indigenous fellowship of believers.

3.2.4 An Autonomous Church

The Moravian Church (SA Western Region) stood at the threshold of a new dispensation at its second Synod in 1959. It had been a long and sometimes arduous way from the first missionary phase under Georg Schmidt to a Church with 29 166 baptized members, of which 10 623 were communicants and 15 271 children. It was recognised by the first post-war General Synod (1957) as a "Synodal Province" of the *Unitas Fratrum*.⁷³ It was resolved that "the . . . General Synod of 1957 authorise . . . the Unity Board to consider the application by the South African Western Province for recognition as a Unity Province and to grant such recognition at any time after January 1960, whenever the conditions . . . contained in the Church Order of the *Unitas Fratrum* . . . have been met". What were those conditions laid down by the Unity Synod in 1957? The General Order set them out as follows:

⁷³ Cf. Minutes of the 1957 Unity Synod.

- A Unity province is one which has developed its spiritual, material and human resources to the point at which it can assume full responsibility for its own life and work, and can make an effective contribution to . . . the calls of the whole Church.
- It orders its own affairs and holds and administers its property independently but subject to the general principles, which set the standard for the whole *Unitas Fratrum*.
- It is responsible to the Unity Synod for carrying out these general principles.
- It supplies and sustains completely its own ministry irrespective of the race or colour of the individual minister.
- It provides for the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions, including a theological seminary.
- Each Unity Province works for the extension of the Kingdom of God.
- It is financially completely self-supporting.
- It has the responsibility of proving leadership in community, industrial and professional life, in meeting social problems and in making positive contributions to the general welfare.

These sections of the Church order describe in few words the standard achieved by the Province of South Africa West by 1960. Even the last criterion, which points to the Church's public responsibility, was at least partially fulfilled despite the small numbers and restricted opportunities of its members.

The second phase of development came about when the decreasing Mission, who had worked alongside the increasing Moravian Church, came to an end. The Mission was fully integrated into the Church. The missionaries and the indigenous ministers worked under exactly the same conditions of service and remuneration. The Church was truly self-supporting and truly Moravian; the ministers served as brothers amongst brothers, their wives as

sisters amongst sisters and the bishop was a spiritual helper and not a high administrator of the Church.

At the Synod in 1962, the chairperson of the Church Board could report as follows to the members: "Our Unity Province is alive and developing. We are a self-reliant Church, this means that every member must be self-reliant, every congregation must assist in the work and extend it".⁷⁴

The Church also realised that it had to do mission work, because it saw proclaiming the Gospel as a permanent task for each member, each congregation. To do so in every respect was the task of the new Unity Province.⁷⁵

3.2.5 A United Church

Since the introduction of the Apartheid Policy and the Homelands structures by the Nationalist government in 1948, an increased awareness developed among members that the two autonomous regions, as they have predominantly developed along racial lines, are irreconcilable with the rich Moravian heritage and Biblical foundation of the Church. Although the 1869 decision was well founded, the division caused deep-rooted long-term problems of alienation, separate structures, partition, suspicion, etc.

This longing to become a truly unified Moravian Church and Province in South Africa soon developed into a determination that was no longer implied, but was expressed and manifested in the following concrete steps:

- (a) The two Boards should meet as the South African Board where they could discuss and make recommendations regarding steps for closer unity. They were to report to the synods of the two provinces.

⁷⁴ Cf. Minutes of the 1962 Synod.

⁷⁵ Cf. Minutes of the 1962 Moravian Church Synod.

- (b) In 1969 the South African Board mapped out a three-phase unity plan, viz.
- Consultation;
 - Federation;
 - Unity, which entailed incorporation of congregations within the same geographical area, seconding personnel, starting a salary fund, starting a Stewardship and Educational Programme and the election of a Unity Commission. Looking at all these decisions taken at synod, it is obvious that the Church wanted to overcome the obstacles in its way on the road towards unity. Progress on the way towards unity has, however, been retarded by the fact that not all the decisions made at provincial synod were executed. In addition, the unity debate that was conducted at the provincial synod level often did not reach the members on local congregational level.
- (c) The federal constitution accepted in 1975 at Gelvandale, Port Elizabeth, which, it was hoped, would facilitate the process of growing together, did in fact not satisfy the desires for closer unity of East and West. It however did succeed in preparing the Church for the next phase, the total unification of the Moravian Church in South Africa.
- (d) In 1986, the provincial synod appointed a Unity Commission with the main aim of conducting an in-depth study of all the implications that the merging in all respects into one Moravian Church in South Africa would have for the two regions.⁷⁶ The Commission submitted reports to the regional synods in 1988⁷⁷ and to the following provincial synod in 1990⁷⁸. Synod then decided to

⁷⁶ Cf. Minutes of the 1986 Provincial Synod.

⁷⁷ Cf. Minutes of the 1988 Regional Synod.

⁷⁸ Cf. Minutes of the 1990 Provincial Synod.

accept the report and adjourn till September 1991 to complete the discussions on the recommendations of the Unity Commission.

- (e) In 1991, synod accepted the Unity Resolutions for one Moravian Church in South Africa.⁷⁹ Finally, the Moravian Church in South Africa could meet as truly one Church at the provincial synod of 1998 on the grounds of one confession and one constitution⁸⁰ – truly one province of the *Unitas Fratrum* that was founded in a distant land, the spiritual motherland, at that first synod in 1467.

Having provided a general overview of the history of the Moravian Church as it relates to the South African Church, it is also important to provide an overview of the Moravian position regarding its beliefs and practices, and its ethical and economic principles, to evaluate more effectively the manner in which the Church at the time understood its witness (in comparison with the epistemological key developed in chapter 2) in the development of the early settlements at the Cape, followed by the configuration of the autonomous Church.

3.3 The Moravian Ethos

3.3.1 Beliefs⁸¹

The Moravians never developed a uniform systematic theology.⁸² One is thus not confronted with a logically cohesive body of doctrine, but with isolated fragments of dogma held together by force of custom. Their members, lay and clergy, were bound to no creed. The Moravians over the years acknowledged a number of canonical points. In 1755, the Barby Synod officially adhered to the *Confessio Augustana*.

⁷⁹ Cf. Minutes of the 1991 Provincial Synod.

⁸⁰ Cf. Minutes of the 1998 Provincial Synod

⁸¹ Cf. Gollin, 1967: 9 – 16.

⁸² Cf. C.O.U.F, 1995: 13 – 16 for the belief of the Moravian Church (# 1 – 11).

When the immigrants from Moravia arrived in Herrnhut they brought with them a variety of religious traditions, dominant among which were those of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The *Unitas Fratrum* were themselves less concerned with doctrine than with conduct. The Bible was regarded as the source of all religious truths; Christ, and not the Pope, was revered as the head of God's Church, and religious piety and ethical conduct were stressed far more than adherence to a specific set of beliefs.

Love becomes the fulfilment of the law; love institutes the very life and soul of belief; love is the *spiritus universalis* of a true religion (August, 1984: 45).

Salvation was a joyful apprehension of a loving father, persistently yet lovingly leading his child into a new life of happy companionship with himself. Here again the emphasis is upon experiencing a joyous reunion with Christ through one's emotions rather than with one's head (August, 1984: 44 – 47).

Zinzendorf's ecclesiology is made quite clear in his saying of February 1734: "I decree that there can be no Christianity without community (Gr. *Koinonia*)". The stress is upon religious experience as a social rather than an individual act. Although everyone is ultimately alone in seeking and communicating with God, Zinzendorf insisted that since God had created man as a gregarious (living in communities/company-seeking) creature, his followers be known by their "brotherly love for one another" (Gollins, 1967: 9 – 16).

Under these circumstances religion became the basis not for a solitary, isolated experience but for an active communal life. The Church came to be thought of as the bride of Jesus, and the believers were referred to as the family of God. For Zinzendorf, it was not sufficient to believe in Christ and

to love Him unless one also took an active part in communicating with His family of fellow-believers and came to practice brotherliness towards them.

The Trinitarian doctrine came to be expressed in terms of kinship terminology: God the father, The Holy Spirit as mother and Jesus as their only son. The Church on earth is referred to as Christ's bride, whose marriage to Christ is celebrated in the Holy Communion.

Under the influence of Zinzendorf, the religion of the Moravians came to emphasise *Gefühl* (religious feeling and experience) over and above dogma and doctrinal uniqueness. It was christocentric and adhered to a belief in salvation based upon joyful and loving apprehension of Christ whose suffering upon the Cross had atoned for sins. It regarded religion as a social experience in which the faithful were bound together in a community of brotherly love, but at the same time separated from the rest of humankind, who did not adhere to their beliefs and who were therefore not numbered among God's chosen people (August, 1985: 9 – 10, 14 – 15).

In 1818, the doctrine of salvation, which previously emphasised belief, obedience and love of God, was now amended to indicate that the work of the spirit was furthermore made manifest in the fruits of a godly life. Zinzendorf laid considerable emphasis upon *praxis pietatis*.⁸³

3.3.2 Ritual

An extensive and vital series of religious rituals that permeate every major institutional area was characteristic of the Moravian religious life. The Moravians engaged in many specifically religious devotions, including

⁸³ Gollin (1967: 16) is of the opinion that Zinzendorf did not fully clarify the exact relationship between good works and the attainment of salvation. However, August (1985: 20 – 47) has effectively explained this aspect in relation to Zinzendorf's disposition to Pietism with regard to Faith and Works – Law and Gospel and the New Life.

prayer meetings, hymn singing, recitation of litanies and liturgies, and participation in the Lord's Supper.⁸⁴

The Love Feast, derived from the celebration of the ancient Christian apostolic tradition of *Agape*, consisted of hymn singing or the chanting of a liturgy, in the course of which a simple meal of coffee and bread or rolls was consumed. This custom was celebrated at the start or successful completion of most economic enterprises, buildings, harvests, birthdays or other commemorations.

Religious ritual was so interwoven with communal decision making that it becomes almost impossible to make a clear-cut distinction between sacred and secular activity. The recourse to the lot, whereby God was expected to give his final verdict in a matter of communal policy, was clearly indicative not merely of a specific type of political authority but also of the penetration of religious ritual into all major communal decisions.

The religious rituals associated with such activities represented an attempt to capture the sacred character of all human endeavours in a socially standardised form. Such rituals served not only to keep alive the individual's awareness of the sacred, but also to provide a strong basis for the social cohesion and integration of the group.

Not much change in religious belief and ethics took place in the mission fields. The religious rituals continue to be celebrated in much the same way as before. To detect change one has to look beyond what would traditionally be regarded as the religious institutions of the society, and turn to the religious practices associated with the social, economic, and political

⁸⁴ Cf. C.O.U.F., 1995: 51 – 56; also see *Godsdiensvorme en Godsdienstige Gebruike van die Morawiese kerk*, 1988.

life of the community. *What changed was the definition of situations in which participation in religious ritual was considered to be appropriate.*

3.3.3 The Polity

During the dispensation of the *Unitas Fratrum*, Jan Amos Comenius (bishop and leader of the Moravian Church) remarks as follows about the polity of the Church: "This form of government . . . suits a monarchy because it has a bishop, an aristocracy because it has a board of Elders and a democracy because it has a synod".⁸⁵

Christian David, after the renewal of the Moravian Church, remarked in search of some form of communal organisation and official government for Herrnhut:

For although it is true that all children of God already share a common path in Jesus Christ, it is also true that both the strong and the weak are in need of good support if they are to be kept upon this path. And that is why we concern ourselves with a review of our institutions so that we might develop statutes, boundaries, regulations, and discipline in the spirit of Christ for the common good, in order to wrestle, walk and fight gallantly, and thus seize for ourselves the kingdom of God.⁸⁶

The basis of legitimacy of authority appears to have been twofold. In the rule of Overseer, Elder and Bishop, tradition played an important role in ensuring obedience. Domination here rested largely upon piety and respect for the norms and values of the feudal order and the ecclesiastic establishment of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*. Authority was derived from respect for what actually, allegedly, or presumably has always existed.

⁸⁵ Comenius, 1660 *De Bono Unitani*

⁸⁶ Dober, 1735: 11 – 22, in Golan, 1967: 26.

After Zinzendorf's death, the General Synod in 1764 – the first constitutional synod – dealt with matters of government. The synod to which it would be responsible elected the *Directorium* as the executive head of the Moravians. In 1769, the 2nd Constitutional Synod replaced the *Directorium* with the Unity Elders Conference (UEC), which formed a single executive Board divided into three councils, i.e. the supervisory, the helpers and the attendants conference. In 1755, the position of bishops was changed to a purely pastoral office and they were regarded as “elders appointed by the UEC to ordain ministers”. Even the election of candidates for the ministry became the exclusive prerogative of the UEC. Thus all power over the Unity⁸⁷ was delegated to the UEC and centralised in Herrnhut. Virtual dictatorship of one man changed to an oligarchy. Traditionalism did play an important role in the legitimisation of authority.

3.3.4 Ethics⁸⁸

The Moravian doctrinal insistence upon *praxis pietatis* rather than orthodoxy meant that their religion was concerned with the elaboration of religious ethics to a much greater degree than was the case in the traditional Lutheran Church at the time. Despite all writings abounding with ethical maxims, these ethics, like the dogma from which they derived, do not form a logical or coherent whole.

The Moravian doctrine of salvation emphasised *Glückseligkeit* (heavenly bliss). People are lead to devote all their energies to the enjoyment of such bliss in the present world, thereby relieving them of the onerous necessity of

⁸⁷ The Unity included the Moravian Church in Europe, America and all its mission-fields at the time.

⁸⁸ Cf. Gollin, 1967: 16 – 19.

struggling for a Calvinistic type of *certitudo salutatis*.⁸⁹ The Moravians linked this doctrine to the belief that every good Christian who has found God must devote herself to her calling, her *Streiter Beruf*,⁹⁰ if she is truly to serve her God. This meant that the virtues of diligence, frugality, punctuality and conscientious attention to detail came to be regarded not merely as desirable attributes in and of themselves, but as virtues essential to the way of life of a Christian.

In this interpretation of the Moravian doctrine of salvation, work, though not causing or guaranteeing salvation, was nonetheless regarded as essential to the maintenance of a state of grace, which provided such a powerful ethical justification and impetus to the vast missionary enterprises of this group. This doctrine of salvation emphasised the obligation of carrying out a task to the best of one's ability, a task to be accomplished in a spirit of loyalty, sincerity and love. Being held responsible for God's salvific plan out of the love that was received obligated the pardoned sinner to spread and share that love.

Another aspect is found in the emphasis upon the social character of religious experience. The belief that the true Christian who was part of the family of God and humankind must love not only his God but also his neighbour, provided a powerful ethical basis for the development of a spirit of co-operation and a willingness to work together as one group. Without it one would be hard put to explain the success of the communal economy of all the Moravian settlements. Accountability and loyalty to the fellowship

⁸⁹ Weber in Gollin (1967: 231) argues that the striving for enjoyment of salvation in this world "meant a weakening of the inhibitions which protected the rational personality of the Calvinist from his passions".

⁹⁰ In her calling as a warrior for Christ, the Christian has to be prepared to make sacrifices for her calling as circumstances demand. This was also the driving force behind their mission outreach – nothing would deter them from "winning souls for the Lamb".

with whom and through whom the *Glückseligkeit* is shared and extended resulted in the members being conscientious stewards.

This emphasis upon the social aspect of religion largely counteracted the effects of a self-perception of religious exclusiveness or superiority, which might otherwise have given an ethical justification for alienation or total withdrawal from the rest of the world. But since they regarded themselves as indebted to Christ to share his atoning love, their missionary zeal compelled them to span the divides of oceans, people, classes, race, language and nations. Thus the very adherence to their religious goals, to the ethical precepts of brotherly love towards all humankind and to co-operation implicit in their dogma, forced them to expose themselves to the values of others.

But the Moravian belief to keep the meritorious death of Christ constantly before their eyes (realised presence) resulted also in ethical precepts. It was this emphasis upon the closeness of Christ's relation to the believer, which enabled them to seek in His life ethical guidance for the conduct of their own lives. But as it was demonstrated during the Sifting Time, Christ's life as a model for standards of ethical conduct could be used to justify two very different sets of values – a militant and dedicated pursuit of one's calling or a sensual contemplation and passive acceptance of one's status.

It becomes clear not only that the ethical precepts of the Moravians failed to constitute a logical and coherent whole, but also that they could give no uniform and consistent direction to human conduct. The same religious dogma could be and was indeed interpreted in such a way as to give rise to different and even opposing ethical maxims.

3.3.5 The regulation of property

The history of the Moravian economic institutions of the eighteenth century furnishes a detailed picture of the extent to which even the material interests of the Moravians were guided by religious values : (Gollin, 1967: 131 – 147). The historical records serve to highlight, moreover, the problems confronting the Moravians in their attempts to subordinate all economic interests to religious goals.

In his analysis of the property norms of religious groups, Max Weber (in Gollin 1967: 131ff) commented on the strong proclivities that exist within the more emotional Pietistic sects toward communal ownership of goods. The Moravian economic situation provides interesting case studies of the consequences of a Pietistic value system for the retention, modification, or abolition of private property.

Since it served as a model for all mission settlements, a brief look at Herrnhut in this regard will serve as an illustration of the economic system. In the payment of taxes levied by the provincial administration of the *Oberlausitz*, the Moravians were instructed to render unto Caesar what was Caesar's. Military and State church taxes could however be waived because the Moravians had no part in it.⁹¹

The limits of communal responsibility for the welfare of its members were clearly delineated: "Every resident of Herrnhut shall work, and eat his own bread. But when he is old, sick or destitute, the Community shall take care of him".⁹² This suggests that, although Herrnhut was ready to practice Christian charity, its concern for the economic welfare of its Sisters and Brethren in no way approximated the sharing of worldly possessions.

⁹¹ Müller, 1900: 105 – 106, in Gollin, 1967: 131 – 132.

⁹² Müller, 1900: 107.

characteristic of many of the early Christian communities. However, the settlement community was structured to be a caring community.

The Statutes of 1727 decreed further that all ground for building purposes was to be allocated by the community Elders. Furthermore, construction could not commence until after the community council had approved the architectural plans. The Judiciary Council retained the right to buy back the property should the present owner choose or be forced to leave the community.

Zinzendorf's belief in the equality of man before God never really interfered with his fundamental belief in the validity of the social distinctions of this world. For this reason the economic ethics of Herrnhut during these early years bore the imprint of the property attitudes of the privileged landed aristocracy of eighteenth-century Germany.⁹³

The first attempt by the community of Herrnhut to take over certain financial responsibilities began as early as 1728 when a communal poor-relief fund was inaugurated. Although funds raised through personal and property taxes were small, it nevertheless assured for the Moravians a modicum of self-sufficiency and independence that effectively

⁹³ The fact that the businesses in the mission fields were mission-controlled and -owned did not leave all the inhabitants pleased with these arrangements. The fact that most supplies were in the hands of the missionaries and could not be purchased elsewhere, since permission to set up other stores was withheld, led to some discontent in the community. The missionary reaction to these complaints shows how far removed their economic ethics were from those which inspired the early Christians to share their worldly goods. The Missionaries simply transplanted the Herrnhut model of Zinzendorf, who saw himself as a pious Christian lord of the old feudal regime, not as a member of the emergent class of capitalists, and therefore the profit motive cannot be used satisfactorily to explain their actions. In any event, Zinzendorf considered any rational evaluation of economic affairs below the dignity of the devout Pietist (Gollin (1967: 135).

counteracted the emergence of a typically feudal type of relationship between lord of the manor and vassal.

By 1747, the community acquired Zinzendorf's general store and the drugstore. The chairperson of the committee on communal credit, von Damnitz, urged an expansion of the socialisation of property within Herrnhut. He suggested that it was unfair for the bakers and butchers of Herrnhut to thrive while other Moravians had to be supported from the poor-relief fund, and that this situation might best be remedied by turning over all bakeries and butcheries to the community.

This socialisation of some of the basic commercial enterprises of Herrnhut, and subsequently in the mission fields, did not spring from any exclusive desire to emulate "the communism of love" of the earliest Christian communities. It was motivated rather by practical financial considerations about how the community might best support its costly religious culture and its missionary ventures.

It is true that from a purely religious standpoint the Moravians regarded all economic wealth as ultimately the property of God alone: "We owe our body and soul, our abilities and wealth to the Lord alone, and it is He, not we, who has complete power of disposition over all that we possess".⁹⁴ This ethical maxim was never really translated into a practical maxim governing economic action. Moreover, the sanctity of private property was never seriously endangered by the religious enthusiasm of these people.

3.3.6 The Generation of a Religious Work Ethic

The religious convictions of the Moravians found striking expression in their attitudes towards work. The virtues of diligence, simplicity, punctuality,

⁹⁴ Proceedings of the General Synod of Marienborn of 1764 in Gollin, 1967: 138.

conscientiousness and continence came to be considered not only as highly desirable attributes in and of themselves but also as essential qualities of a truly Christian way of life. Hard work was essential to a devout Christian, whose reward was ultimately to be measured in religious rather than economic terms.

Max Weber (in Gollin 1967: 143) has pointed out that with the emergence of a Protestant ethic hard work became "not the cause of salvation, but the sole means of recognising it". The religious ethic of the early Moravians, by redefining the relationship between work and salvation, gave a very powerful impetus to the enhancement of economic output. For the Moravians all work was religious work in the sense that all work was intimately linked to man's salvation. All secular work became in fact a legitimate domain of the sacred. By making work a virtue it also raised the level of industriousness in the communities concerned.

The norms of brotherhood and equality were incorporated into the Moravian religious value systems. The maintenance of these values posed some serious difficulties for the operation of their economic institutions. The Moravians were confronted with the problem of maintaining the core values of equality and fraternity while at the same time instituting a system of reward, which would not be in conflict with the evolving occupational specialisation within the economy. Amongst the missionaries, for instance in Bethlehem,⁹⁵ the values of egalitarianism manifested themselves not only in the Moravian religious ethic but also in their communal organisation of consumption and production (Gollin, 1967: 145 – 147). The refusal to adopt

⁹⁵ Bethlehem in Pennsylvania (USA) was a Moravian Settlement of German Moravians that was founded in 1741. Today Bethlehem is a sprawling industrial city in the eastern United States, with a population of over 75,000 and an economy tied to one of the corporation giants of the American steel industry. Its citizens, professing diverse religious beliefs, are for the most part bound together by a shared commitment to the values of American democracy and freedom of enterprise (Gollin, 1967: 1).

an absolutist position with regard to the value of equality thus left the way open for the retention of at least a modicum of role specialisation and differentiation of rewards within the economy. The egalitarian norms of the Moravians were never extended systematically to economic activities.

3.3.7 The Division of Labour⁹⁶

From their inception, the mission settlements were expected to strive for communal self-sufficiency. The Zinzendorffian model of an exclusive settlement was inspired not by a desire to flee from the snares of the sinful world, as was the case with the Amish,⁹⁷ but by a determination to establish a degree of independence from the outside world that would permit the Moravians to pursue their religious goals unhampered by the limitations imposed by a dependence upon non-Moravian resources. It became mandatory for mission settlements to establish an economy, which could effectively support a resident population and also support the missionary work.

But the system of exclusivism was maintained only at the cost of communal vitality and growth. Since not all people could fit into the close economy of the settlements for their livelihood, some had to leave the settlements to find work elsewhere. The *raison d'être* of the system was lost once the members ceased to adhere to the values and norms of exclusivism. It is therefore true that the mission communities in the 19th century were beginning to lose a significant part of their population, men and women who found the institutions of the missionary settlement too restrictive and/or who preferred to seek a living elsewhere.

The main stream of political struggle in the colony and the emancipation of the slaves were not matters in which the missionaries played a leading part.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gollin, 1967: 148ff.

⁹⁷ Cf. Gollin, 1967: 148.

However, they could not cut themselves off from these events. The revolutionary ideas about man's freedom and right to social and economic equality also became part of the settlements' everyday life when slaves came to settle there. Furthermore, the local population was continuously exposed to the secular influences due to migrant labour and military service.

3.4 The Moravian mission in the context of *ceus regio eus religio*: from the Dutch to the British occupation of the Cape (1737 – 1815)

3.4.1 Georg Schmidt and the founding of the mission work amongst the Khoi-Khoi (1737 – 1744)

The start of the mission work at the Cape in 1737 was due to two Dutch clergy of Amsterdam, Hieronymus van Alphen and Franco de Bruin, who offered their support for the Moravian Mission work and requested Zinzendorf⁹⁸ to send missionaries to the Khoi-Khoi at the Cape.⁹⁹ Their request arrived on 6 February 1736 and a few days later a young missionary, Georg Schmidt,¹⁰⁰ travelled on foot to Holland.¹⁰¹ In September, Schmidt moved to Middelburg and submitted Zinzendorf's application on his behalf

⁹⁸ The Count Nicolas Von Zinzendorf is regarded as the founder of the renewed Moravian Church in 1727 after he had given shelter on his estate to the Moravian fugitives from Moravia who then built a Christian settlement, called Herrnhut (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 13). From this settlement missionaries were sent out for the first time by a local church in 1732 to St. Thomas in the West Indies. When people around Europe became acquainted with the hitherto unheard of missionary zeal, many became supporters of the Herrnhuter mission movement.

⁹⁹ These two ministers were members of the Classis of Amsterdam, who were responsible for the spiritual work at the Cape (Lütjeharms in Krüger, 1966: 15).

¹⁰⁰ Schmidt was born on 30 September 1709 at the small village of Kunewalde in the German-speaking part of Moravia. There they still followed the traditions of the Ancient Moravian Church. He arrived at Herrnhut in 1725 and later shared the revival experience of 13 August 1727 with the Herrnhut congregation.

¹⁰¹ Müller in Krüger, 1966: 16. Müller wrote the only standard biography on Schmidt, i.e. *Die Geschichte der ersten Hottentottenmission 1737-1744*, published in Herrnhut 1923).

to the Council of Seventeen.¹⁰² In his letter, the Count introduced Schmidt, asking permission for him to travel to the Cape for the purpose of “*winning a few souls for the Saviour*”¹⁰³ and assuring the Council that *the Moravians did not interfere in worldly matters such as making the slaves rebellious* (own italics)¹⁰⁴. On 11 September, the Council gave him leave to travel free of charge to the Cape in the pursuit of his mission, and Zinzendorf sent him a letter of instruction: “he should not accept presents and honours, but work for his living. He should begin with those heathen, who understood Dutch. For the rest he should follow the guidance of the Saviour in all things”.¹⁰⁵

Schmidt arrived at the Cape on 9 July 1737 with letters of recommendation from the two Amsterdam ministers of the Classis. At that time the Governor of the Cape, J de la Fonraïne, was about to hand his office over to the Vice-Governor, A van Kervel.¹⁰⁶ Schmidt visited both and delivered his letters of recommendation. Following the instructions from Middelburg, the Governing Council at the Cape resolved on 11 July to assist him in his purpose of converting the Hottentots, if possible.¹⁰⁷ It is fair to remark that Schmidt enjoyed the co-operation and protection of the governing Council and particularly the support of Captain Johannes Tobias Rhenius, who was

¹⁰² The Cape was at that time a small dependency of the Dutch East Indian Company, supplying the passing ships with provisions on their way between Europe and East India. It was ruled by the Council of Seventeen from Middelburg in Holland on behalf of the State-General.

¹⁰³ The Herrnhut Moravian slogan for their mission outreach.

¹⁰⁴ Nachtigal in Krüger, 1966: 17. Here already we have a strong indication of a spiritual dualism, separating evangelism and mission from the everyday real politics of society. This polity compares favourably to that of St. Paul's ideology regarding Onesimus in Philemon (10 – 17). There is no indication here of societal transformation; it seems to be more on the personal individualistic level. However, it has to be appreciated that interference in the political dispensation of the day would certainly have resulted in the mission not being allowed or terminated.

¹⁰⁵ Müller in Krüger, 1966: 17.

¹⁰⁶ Mentzel, 1919 as quoted by Krüger, 1966: 18. Cf. Bredekamp, *Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt* 1981: 41.

¹⁰⁷ Theal, 1910 as quoted by Krüger, 1966: 18.

in the service of the Company. Not only did Rhenius invite him to stay at his home in the Castle, but he also counselled him to wait for the arrival of soldiers from one of the Company's posts before setting out on his mission to the Hottentots, as it was impossible in this country to travel great distances on foot.¹⁰⁸

In a discussion with the Minister, Franciscus le Sueur, Schmidt was advised to enter the service of the Company in order to gain the respect of the Khoi-Khoi. He replied that he had to remain independent to do justice to his mission work.¹⁰⁹ When the corporal of one of the military posts came to town in August, the Governor instructed him to take Schmidt with him, to assist him in building a dwelling and to supply him with provisions for the beginning.¹¹⁰ When, on 13 September, they reached the lonely post of Zoetensmelksvlei in the valley of the Zondereind River, the corporal lent him his tent until he could manage to build a house. On 26 September, after he had made contact with the Khoi-Khoi, the soldiers and the Khoi-Khoi assisted him in erecting a hut.¹¹¹

In order to have greater opportunity to work amongst the Khoi-Khoi, Schmidt went to inspect a new place on 10 February 1738. He thought of moving there and wrote a letter to the acting Governor and the captain to solicit their consent for his decision. Having received written approval from

¹⁰⁸ Schmidt explained these difficulties at length in a letter to Zinzendorf.

¹⁰⁹ Ph.G.S as quoted by Krüger, 1966: 20; Theal and Du Plessis refer to this report as quoted by Krüger, 1966: 20.

¹¹⁰ *Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt*, 1981: 43. Schmidt at this occasion also assured the Governor that he would live "from the works of his hands" according to the Moravian mission policy.

¹¹¹ Schmidt's letter to Zinzendorf of 23 December 1737, in *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981:46 – 7.

the Governor,¹¹² Schmidt together with 18 Hottentots moved to the Baviaanskloof where three soldiers helped him to erect a hut.

In the months following his settling at the Baviaanskloof, the free attitude of the Moravians on the continent towards the Reformed and Lutheran Confessions gave offence to the churches in Holland who were proud of the Reformed doctrine, and the suspicion arose that the Herrnhuters were a new mystical sect.¹¹³ At the Cape too, opposition against Schmidt began to make itself felt. Even before the pastoral letter from the Church Council of Amsterdam against the Moravians arrived at the Cape, Captain Rhenius sent him a confidential message: He should proceed cautiously; the *dominees* were against him and the Acting Governor, D van Henghel, wanted him to leave the country.¹¹⁴ On a visit to the Cape in July 1738, Schmidt learned that important political changes had taken place. The Acting Governor had resigned and the Vice-Governor, H Swellengrebel, had taken over. One of his sisters was married to the *dominee* Le Seuer, the other one to the new Vice-Governor, Ryk Tulbagh. After Schmidt had taken his lodging with Rhenius, he called on the new Governor, congratulating him on his appointment, which again showed his positive disposition towards the political authorities.¹¹⁵ A week after his return to the Baviaanskloof, on 16 August 1739, he had to learn to his dismay that six of his men, with Africo and Wilhelm amongst them, had been called up to fight the Khoi-Khoi and

¹¹² Captain Rhenius personally held discussions with the Governor who not only approved of the place, but also gave permission to Schmidt to cultivate as much soil as he might need for his household (*Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 61).

¹¹³ Lütjeharms in Krüger, 1966: 23. The Moravians took Holy Writ as their only norm for life and salvation. The Confessions they respect as subordinate.

¹¹⁴ Müller in Krüger, 1966: 24. During his reign considerable unrest arose in the Colony (Cf. Theal in Krüger, 1966: 24). Schmidt also bears witness to this state of affairs in his diary entry of 14 December 1738 (Cf. *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 67).

¹¹⁵ Schmidt had a high sensitivity for building good relations with the authorities in order to benefit his mission work.

the San in the North.¹¹⁶ This made Schmidt very angry for he knew that the colonists were the cause of the trouble when they went north to barter for cattle, but instead robbed cattle and killed people. In revenge the Namaquas had invaded the Colony and the commando had been formed to expel them. Although volunteers had been called up from the settlers for the commando, Schmidt maintained that his men had in his absence been forced into service by threats.¹¹⁷

Schmidt and his Khoi-Khoi flock had been dependent on each other for their subsistence.¹¹⁸ They helped him in planting a garden and fruit trees,¹¹⁹ erecting a building,¹²⁰ building a sheep kraal and sowing a wheat land¹²¹ for which he gave them food and other life support. In the process, Schmidt trained them to acquire agricultural and building skills, which was not an easy task for they were used to a pastoral-hunter-gatherer-life. He even started a small home industry with the women in manufacturing candles.¹²² In the course of time, the Baviaanskloof community increasingly developed into an industrious society. They sowed, planted, harvested, hunted, hand-ground wheat at the nearby *freeburger*, broke stones and sawed planks,

¹¹⁶ Schmidt's diary entry of 16 of January 1739, in *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 79

¹¹⁷ This response from Schmidt not only indicates his authoritative stand when it came to his sense of responsibility for his flock, but also his concern for the right of his men to make free decisions (Cf. *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 73 – 81).

¹¹⁸ Like the other Moravian missionaries, Schmidt did not receive financial support for his livelihood from Herrnhut, but had to work for his living after the example of St. Paul (the so-called tent-making ministry model) except for occasional gifts from friends at the Cape (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 27).

¹¹⁹ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 151.

¹²⁰ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 171.

¹²¹ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 165.

¹²² *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 185.

made whips for the farmers¹²³ and gathered wood and food. They even planted tobacco and a vineyard.¹²⁴

Schmidt was very particular when it came to his flock's quality of life, i.e. both spiritually and secularly. Although he was ultra pietistic in his approach and his priority was to lead them to the Saviour, he made it quite clear to them that they also have to pay attention to their everyday responsibilities; they should also exhibit their love for the Saviour by adhering to their duties in the community. If not, he would stop the lessons, which would mean that they all had to leave.¹²⁵ Nobody should be forced to attend the classes in which he taught him or her to read, but to belong to his classes implied a moral and responsible life as people who love the Lord – drinking or dancing were not allowed.¹²⁶ They had to resist arguments and fighting amongst themselves.¹²⁷ He also complained about their poor attendance of the classes due to their everyday work. He was very concerned about the children walking around without clothes and regularly reprimanded the women to cover themselves.¹²⁸ Schmidt argued that those living with him in the Baviaanskloof chose freely to do so because they wanted to know the Lord and his way of life, and he was prepared to teach only them. If they do not want to adhere to this way of life, they were free

¹²³ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 209.

¹²⁴ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 151. Schmidt, knowing how fond his *folk* were of tobacco, especially planted tobacco for them.

¹²⁵ This relates even to their duty as herders to prevent their livestock from damaging the gardens or wheat fields of their neighbours. (cf *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 223).

¹²⁶ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 207. It was common practice that the Khoi-Khoi were regularly compensated for their work by the farmers in the form of brandy and wine, as well as food and old clothes. Schmidt was strongly opposed to this practice.

¹²⁷ They had to live like brothers and sisters if they wish to know the Lord (Cf. *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 211).

¹²⁸ *Dagboek en Briewe*, 1981: 153.

to leave.¹²⁹ He also used the classes to force the children and the adults to behave properly. If they would lack good discipline, he would stop the classes until such time that they were prepared to behave.¹³⁰ He also told the community that he wanted no other children there but those that want to learn and in that way, Schmidt introduced compulsory education in the settlement.¹³¹ Despite all his anxiety with the irregular attendance and the pace at which they learnt the teaching proved successful.¹³² This is evident in that during the periodic absence of Schmidt, Wilhelm and Africo were able occasionally to take over the classes for both the adults and the children.¹³³ He organised his congregation of twenty-eight into seven prayer circles according to age and gender after the example of the choirs in Herrnhut, and distributed Dutch New Testaments among the fifteen, who had learnt to read.¹³⁴ The teaching carefully recorded in his diary, remained the backbone of his mission work. The day would start with morning prayers, followed by a short lesson to those who had not gone to work and sentences in Dutch,¹³⁵ which they repeated. The day would close with a short address on a text from Scripture.¹³⁶ Apart from the classes he would hold the regular meetings (on Sundays and festivals according to Moravian customs and practices) when he would preach according to the Church Year. It became apparent that until the baptism of his candidates he never called them "brother or sister". Soon after the baptism of Wilhelm, he called him

¹²⁹ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:207. Schmidt's reply to Africo on the 29 March and his reaction to Wilhelm en Moses on the 1 April 1741 after their absence at the gathering due to drinking.

¹³⁰ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981: 223.

¹³¹ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981: 159.

¹³² Even the vice-landrost of Stellenbosch visited him twice, and marvelled at the reading of the Khoi-Khoi.

¹³³ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:207. Schmidt sometimes had to make visits to the Cape.

¹³⁴ And this shows the degree of his success: how he had enabled and empowered his learners.

Cf. Georg Schmidt Diary in Kruger, 1966:29.

¹³⁵ Schmidt tried to learn the Khoi tongue, but found it too difficult due to the various clicks. He then reverted to teaching them in Dutch, which proved very successful (Cf. Schmidt's Diary in Kruger, 1966:29).

¹³⁶ Schmidt's Diary in Kruger, 1966: 29.

“brother” and so he did consistently with all the others. Finally he would greet the congregation in Herrnhut by concluding his letter on the 19 May 1742 writing: “My five brothers and sisters send greetings”.¹³⁷

Schmidt’s conservative pietistic disposition regarding the drunkenness, dancing, card-playing and immorality with the Khoi-Khoi women by the colonists, whom he referred to as the “so-called Christians”, annoyed them very much and contributed to Schmidt’s already unpopular public image due to his success with teaching the Khoi-Khoi in reading.¹³⁸ On a visit to the Cape in February 1741, he learnt that he would also be expelled from the Cape like his two colleagues from Ceylon, which was due to the authorities raising objections to their work. At this occasion, Schmidt was challenged by the *dominees* to make a public confession of faith, as the Herrnhuters were suspect because they refuse to publicise their faith.¹³⁹ To this Schmidt responded that he was quite willing on the basis that the Bible was the Word of God and that the *dominees* should not liken the Moravians to people hiding in a corner who are afraid to give an account of their faith.¹⁴⁰ He knew no other foundation, except that the Saviour through his precious blood on the cross, wrought eternal salvation and grace to give to all who longed it from him; and that outside grace there can be no salvation, no redemption, and no one can become a different human being. Schmidt also asked the *dominees* whether anybody could prove something false against what he has taught amongst the Khoi-Khoi. As nobody ventured to prove

¹³⁷ After Schmidt was ordained by letter from Zinzendorf, dated 27 August 1741, he baptised first Wilhelm as Josua and within two weeks he baptised 4 others of his flock, namely Africo as Christian, Vehettge as Magdalena, Kibido as Jonas and the sister of Moses as Christina Cf. Schmidt’s report in his Diary of the 31 March, 2 April, 4 April, 12 April 1742 in Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:243-357

¹³⁸ According to Kruger (1966:24) Schmidt’s success was already acknowledged when 5 colonists from Stellenbosch inspected Schmidt’s work on the 9 November 1738.

¹³⁹ According to Schmidt in Dagboek en Briewe (1981:195) this was not true. Von Watteville (1700-1744) was prepared but he was not given an audience

¹⁴⁰ Georg Schmidt on 28 February 1741 in Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:195.

the contrary, Schmidt invited them to pay him a visit in order to learn for themselves.¹⁴¹ Schmidt was only too eager to give a public account of his belief and work amongst the Khoi-Khoi, even to the civil authorities. Of this, his frequent visits to the authorities and officials at the Cape bore ample proof.¹⁴²

The extent of the effect of the rumours regarding his banishment caused much uncertainty for Schmidt's mission and was most apparent when he had an argument with Africo about his drinking. In his intoxicated state, Africo blamed Schmidt of wanting to sell the Baviaanskloof on his return to Europe in order to pocket the money. In Africo's opinion that would show that Schmidt had no regard for all the effort he also put into beautifying the place. Africo's confusion¹⁴³ and bitterness became evident in his drunkenness and he could only see Schmidt at that moment as one of the Europeans as most farmers at the Cape, who had come to exploit them, were experienced by the Khoi-Khoi. Schmidt was shocked to hear such accusations but he knew that they were based on the rumours spread by the farmers. Schmidt's defence against the accusation was that if he leaves he would have nothing of the place apart from the efforts he put into it.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:195. It becomes apparent that the *dominees* were too prepared to continue in their prejudice against Schmidt without acquainting them with the facts by launching an investigation.

¹⁴² He would regularly visit the Governor, the Secretary of justice, captain Rhenius, members of the Council and even the *predikante*. He appeared to be very popular amongst certain Cape inhabitants and enjoyed the support of influential people in the upper society of the Cape (The whole Diary (Dagboek en Briewe (1981) bears witness to this; Cf. Kruger, 1966: 28).

¹⁴³ Schmidt speaks of this confusion to the sergeant on the 10 November 1742. He was of the opinion that the slandering of the 'so-called Christians' was due to the *dominees*, even the governor and his council, who allowed the ordinary colonists to continue to slander and to confuse his people. In the process they were damaging the work of the Saviour amongst the Khoi-Khoi (Cf. Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:431). They were even more disturbed because a foreman on a farm had threatened that the Company would make them slaves, if they became literate (Cf. Müller in Krüger, 1966:37).

¹⁴⁴ Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:209.

All these rumours and the uncertainty had a definite effect on Schmidt. He heard that a new pamphlet against the Moravians had arrived at the Cape and that the people expected him to be banished soon. The farmers continued with their slandering that he lived with Khoi-Khoi women, that he was a spy. Some even implied that he was the secretary of the rebel Barbier.¹⁴⁵ His loneliness and the instability of his flock made him very despondent. All these depressed him to such an extent that he wanted in January 1742 to return to Europe.¹⁴⁶ After the authorities learned that Schmidt had baptised some of his converts, they summoned two converts, Christian and Josua for interrogation. Schmidt's accountability to the authorities regarding his mission was brought to a head when he sought an audience with the governor and the *dominees*, after they had interrogated his converts. Although they were favourably impressed with the outcome of the interrogation, both the *dominees* and the governor were dissatisfied with the state of affairs regarding Schmidt's ordination and administration of the sacraments. According to the Resolutions of the governing Council at the Cape, the certificate of ordination was submitted and Schmidt was instructed not to baptise until further orders but otherwise to continue with his work. The *dominees* were requested to refer the case to the Classis.¹⁴⁷ According to the findings, Schmidt should not have baptised but should have referred his converts to the *dominees*. The governor further explained to Schmidt that the Moravians had no right to ordain ministers for the Cape. The eventual outcome of the Church Council (of the three Cape congregations who met shortly afterwards) was that the Classis should declare Schmidt's work null and void, because he was not qualified to give religious instruction and did not co-operate with the *predikante*. The five who were

¹⁴⁵ See Schmidt's Diary in Krüger, 1966:30. Etienne Barbier was an escaped soldier who led a rebellion of the colonists because the governor forbade them to take cattle from the Khoi-Khoi (Krüger, 1966:24).

¹⁴⁶ This intension of his disappointment with the confusion of his flock due to the slandering of the farmers, Schmidt also shared with the governor on the 7 December 1742 (Cf. Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:441).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Krüger, 1966:36 (c.34, 4.9.1742).

baptised should be considered as unbaptised and could not receive Holy Communion, since Schmidt was not ordained in the prescribed manner according to the Rules of the Reformed Church. The three *dominees* also added a personal request that Schmidt be recalled. Thus, the church authorities objected not only to Schmidt's ordination but also to his presence in the country. Given the dispensation of *ceus regio eus religio* one can understand that the Cape Churches would be against another church working in their sphere of jurisdiction as in those days the government determined the confession of a country.¹⁴⁸ However, in the view of Krüger (1966:37) it stands to reason that they must take the blame for asserting their authority over the Khoi-Khoi, without making any missionary effort on their behalf. The Cape church's negative attitude about the Khoi-Khoi reflected the feelings of the colonists at the Cape.

Schmidt on the other hand asserted that on no occasion was he asked to give an account of his faith and work to the *dominees* and that he did not leave them under any uncertainty as to his mission amongst the Khoi-Khoi. Schmidt even declared himself willing to give a public account of his faith if they so required.¹⁴⁹ He was at no stage before the baptism of his converts informed not to baptise the Khoi-Khoi. What he did, he did not on his own

¹⁴⁸ This was also born out by De Wet in discussion with Schmidt on the 9 January 1743 when he said that the Company resorted under the State General and that the State General wanted no other church buildings to be built than the Reformed Churches. Even the Lutherans, he said, had to have their children baptised in the Reformed church (Cf. Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:463).

¹⁴⁹ Schmidt in discussion with *predikant* Le Seur on the 3 January 1743.

accord but in accordance with his church and its polity.¹⁵⁰ In addition, it was his church that got permission to send missionaries to the Cape.¹⁵¹

As far as the governor is concerned, Schmidt was of the opinion that the governor should not have told him to stop with the baptism as this is a spiritual matter that has nothing to do with the authority, except, he conceded, when there is something false in the doctrine and the church hands it over to the authorities, then the authority can involve itself in church affairs.

Schmidt returned to Europe on 3 March 1744, shortly after he had received a letter on 25 August 1743 that his church authorities would not object to his return. He left for Europe after he gained permission from the governor and entrusted the settlement to his convert and brother Christian.

What factors led to the tensions between Schmidt and the Authorities that contributed to the termination of his mission?

¹⁵⁰ Schmidt in discussion with the pensioned *predikant* Beck on the 14 December 1742. Georg Schmidt, messenger of the Moravian Church among the Khoi-Khoi and the Bantu-people, was ordained by Zinzendorf in his capacity as bishop of the Moravian Church according to a letter from him dated the 27 August 1747. The letter instructed Schmidt to start baptising his converts.

¹⁵¹ Of course it was exactly at this point that Schmidt's case was even more damaged because of the Moravians confessional position in relation to the Reformed Church at that point in history whilst it was different when he came out to the Cape at first. Between 1740 and 1742 most of the Reformed Synods had listed the Moravian Movement officially as a sect (cf Krüger, 1966: 43). It is clear from Schmidt's own account that he was a very proud Moravian. He could tell the brother of Ardaes on the 12 December 1742 that his church was already an apostolic church before the Reformation. He, however, confessed the Augsburg Confession and considered all true Lutherans and Reformed as his brothers (Cf. Dagboeke en Briewe, 1981:447). On a question why the Moravian Church does not become part of the Lutheran or the Reformed churches, he remarked to *predikant* Le Seur on the 3 January 1743, that 'the mother does not cast her in the lap of the children.' (Dagboek en Briewe, 1981: 461). The Moravian Church is a church in its own right and does not even want to be a 'special sect' (Schmidt, Diary 13 September 1742 till 8 February 1743 in Dagboek en Briewe, 1981:461).

3.4.1.1 *The colonists and the Mission*

The Colonists were at first very sceptical and they ridiculed Schmidt's missionary efforts amongst the Khoi-Khoi. However, when the authorities at the Cape forbade them to barter with the Khoi-Khoi for livestock and the Khoi-Khoi expressed their wish to move to the Baviaanskloof to learn reading and writing they became angry against the authorities on the one hand and felt economically threatened by Schmidt's educational efforts for fear of losing their farmhands. Schmidt had no sympathy with them and even explained that should the Khoi-Khoi become literate the colonists would not be able to exploit them with all their lies. What influenced Schmidt even more in exhibiting such a negative attitude towards the colonists were their immoral lives, their gambling and dancing, and especially their slandering. He was very fond of referring to them as the "so-called Christians". It appears that the colonists would benefit the most with Schmidt's mission terminated and he forced out of the Cape. Thus, the lies, slandering and threats succeeded in sowing confusion amongst his converts and frustrating him to make his mission impossible.

3.4.1.2 *The local church*

The local church, through their 3 dominees, was from the inception of Schmidt's mission sceptical about the effort. According to him, they did not believe in the conversion of the Khoi-Khoi and expected that nothing would come from his efforts. They never made a concerted effort systemically to convert the Khoi-Khoi; neither did they invite them into their churches. Schmidt also received very little support from them. Their interest, if any, flowed mostly out of curiosity. Le Seur explained to Schmidt his insight that "the Khoi-Khoi was the worst people amongst all the nations that are known on earth". Schmidt, in Le Seur's opinion, left without having accomplished any good. According to him the "Hottentot conversion had been only a pretext to cover-up other plans". The Khoi-Khoi was to his mind still as ignorant and uncivilised as before. According to him, their

teacher had asserted that they had a feeling in their heart, but had agreed in the end that nothing could be done for them and even the baptised members failed him.¹⁵²

As far as the local Church Council was concerned, it seemed that their attitude was no different. At the end they submitted a resolution, protesting to the Classis against Schmidt's work in that it was undermining the reformed tradition and doctrine and the status of the state church, which is understandable if one takes into consideration that another church was about to be established within their sphere of religious influence. Above all, it was their members (the ordinary colonists in the inland) that were dissatisfied with Schmidt and his mission and they expected the church authorities to protect the interest of their adherents.

However, they demonstrated their intolerance towards another church of God on a purely political and economic basis without reconciling them to the missionary outreach of the Moravian Church amongst people other than themselves.

3.4.1.3 The Classis.

The Classis was the ecclesiastical authority that was in charge of the Cape church. It was under their authority and with their blessings that the Moravian Mission sent Schmidt out to the Cape. However, it was also the Classis that later declared the Moravians a sect. This was a sad, unavoidable confluence of ecclesiastical development in the 18 century. The organised and established state church of the Netherlands defended its traditional authority and the newborn, spontaneous and still developing enthusiastic missionary movement that exploded onto the world scene, proclaimed the saviour to the world under his sovereign control. With its polity to remain the small church within the big church after the Pietistic-

¹⁵² Spoelstra in Krüger, 1966:42.

model of Spener, this Moravian church threatened the security of the established traditional church in that it gained support in the Netherlands and threatened to erode the traditional church. Unfortunately, for Schmidt he was an enthusiastic local missionary and believer on a global stage where different norms apply. It would still take time for the *Unitas Fratrum* to be recognised as an ancient church by the governments of the different countries. It was just unfortunate that there was a communication breakdown between the Classis and the local Church Council regarding Schmidt's position and that of his eventual converts. It seems as if they could not have foreseen the possibility of converts and therefore they did not lay down any policies or structural framework to accommodate the new phenomenon. However, the Classis did decide that Schmidt could remain at the Cape and continue with his work, but that the baptism was invalid. Unfortunately, the letter came too late, as Schmidt had already left at that stage.

3.4.1.4 *The Council of Seventeen and the Moravian Mission*

The Council of Seventeen met in September of 1747, but even among the officials of the Company at that time, a mind shift had taken place regarding the position of the Moravian mission. There was now a fear that the growth of independent congregations amongst the Khoi-Khoi at the Cape might be dangerous to its authority. Therefore, the application for renewed work at the Cape was turned down. Schmidt, however, could not complain about the support and protection he was given by the Council of Seventeen from the moment he made his intentions known to travel from the Netherlands to the Cape to convert the Khoi-Khoi. The support and protection he enjoyed from the Governor, the Captain and the Political Council at the Cape is well recorded by Schmidt: In modern parlance, one could say that he actually enjoyed "the freedom of the Cape". The support of the Sergeant and the soldiers at the Post was exceptional. He did insist on not receiving a stipend from the Company in order to retain his independence. He did differ with

the governor on the issue of interfering in his ecclesiastical charge by terminating his administering baptism. He was also convinced that the governor could have put a stop to the unfair slandering and confusion sowed by the colonists. The fact that nothing was done about it made him very unhappy for it caused irreparable damage to his work amongst his indigenous congregation.

3.4.1.5 *Georg Schmidt's personality and attitude*

Krüger (1966:44-45) aptly ascribed some of the problems that Schmidt experienced to his stubbornness and single-mindedness, as well as his inclination to judgemental moralisation. These peculiarities become also apparent in his diary. He also complained a lot about the spiritual and moral conditions of the Khoi-Khoi people: almost in a fretful nagging way. He sometimes came over as morbid, which might have made him very difficult to work with. But taking in consideration that he was alone and had to do the work unaided for years due to external politics; that he suffered a lot from toothache and cold feet due to his imprisonment in Moravia. Given all the setbacks in his micro and macro environment, he miraculously managed against all expectations to form a Khoi-Khoi congregation with Christian habits and a measure of civilisation, that remained together as long as he was in their midst and even longer; a result that the Colonists had considered impossible to achieve and to which their own way of living compared badly.¹⁵³ Finally, it might be argued that he should have awaited the answer of the authorities in Holland and accepted their decision. However, it would not have given him the freedom to do what he felt called to do, which points to the second reason for the termination of his mission: Schmidt was not prepared to sacrifice what he had regarded as his vocation from the Saviour by becoming an assistant of the *dominees*.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, this was not due to him or the Moravians not wanting to co-operate with

¹⁵³ Cf. Krüger, 1966:44.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Krüger, 1966:45.

other church denominations, but the indifference of the *dominees* regarding the Khoi-Khoi and the colonists' exploitation of and discrimination against the Khoi-Khoi, which could easily have muzzled the mission work.¹⁵⁵ Schmidt did not abandon the work with his return to Europe; on the contrary, together with the Church he attempted various ways to resume the work. He even considered offering himself for ordination as a Reformed minister. These efforts however proved fruitless. Schmidt however continued to remember his flock until his death and prayed regularly for them.¹⁵⁶

George Schmidt, given his context, lived out in the true sense of the word the advocacy role of the church. True to his ecclesiastical calling, he represented and defended the interest of his flock of indigenous Khoi-Khoi for the first time in the history and political life of this people in their encounter with the European colonists. The erroneous derogatory title "hotnotsgot" (God of the Hottentot)¹⁵⁷ would not have been an inappropriate title for him, because he truly acted as the champion of the Khoi-Khoi. He was bold and proud (some would say, stubborn) and used all opportunities to mobilise and petition people of influence to assist him in his mission. He was prepared to give an account of his ministry to all who required it of him: the governor, the political council, the *dominees*, as well as the colonists. He welcomed visits to exhibit the missionary work, which gave him opportunities to keep his work in the public eye.

¹⁵⁵ Schmidt's Diary and Müller GS in Krüger, 1966:37.

¹⁵⁶ Müller in Krüger (1966:44) reports that Schmidt died during the time allotted to him for intercession, praying for his flock at the Cape.

¹⁵⁷ Concept used by the dissatisfied colonists to frame anyone protecting the Khoi-Khoi. Incidentally, the praying Mantis is also referred to as a *Hotnotsgot*.

3.4.2 The revival and continuation of the mission work at the Cape: (1744 – 1792) 1792 – 1815¹⁵⁸

3.4.2.1 *The renewal by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel*

a. The period under the Company (1792 – 1795)

The story of the revival of the missionary work begins with an encounter in 1787 between Johann Reichel, a bishop of the Moravian church, and Helperus van Lier, one of the three *predikante* of the Reformed Church at the Cape.¹⁵⁹ Reichel heard from him and from other like-minded people that some of Schmidt's converts were still alive and that a new beginning should be made.¹⁶⁰ After a positive decision was taken by the Moravian Synod in 1789, the Council of Seventeen was approached.¹⁶¹ The permission was granted at once, but not without conditions: They were advised not to settle on a spot where a Christian congregation already existed. The question whether Baviaanskloof was inside or outside the congregation of Stellenbosch was immediately raised (based on Schmidt's previous experience) but they were reassured that it would not pose a problem to the mission work.¹⁶² What brought about the change in attitude from the political authorities in Holland? Lütjeharms in Krüger (1966: 49) mentions the Moravian settlement at Zeist, which in the Dutch opinion was regarded as the model of a pious settlement. The Moravian way of life influenced public opinion in Holland, which had as a result that prejudice

¹⁵⁸ There are several witnesses to the fact that in the absence of Schmidt, his converts continue his work even though in a very simplistic way amongst themselves and their offspring. That is why I preferred to retain the year as 1744 – 1792. Although no written records were kept for that period the remnant of Schmidt's flock remained until the renewal of the work in 1792.

¹⁵⁹ Krüger, 1966:47.

¹⁶⁰ Krüger, 1966:47.

¹⁶¹ Lütjeharms in Krüger, 1966:49.

¹⁶² Nachtigal in Krüger, 1966:49.

changed into appreciation. A Society for the support of the Moravian missions was even formed in Holland.¹⁶³

The ecclesiastical scene at the Cape had undergone drastic change: the Lutherans were granted a church and a minister of their own, which spelt the end of the old principle that the confession of the sovereign was the only recognised confession in his country.¹⁶⁴ The influential Dutch-trained Reformed *predikant* Van Lier, who was an ardent supporter of mission, continued to work for missionary action, formed a circle of supporters, pleading for the establishment of a Dutch missionary society and for the admission of missionaries to the Colony.¹⁶⁵

Politically and economically, the local context at the Cape had also changed during the fifty years following Schmidt's departure. Krüger (1966: 47) explains that the colony expanded further eastward, two new districts, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, being added. The first clashes with the Bantu due to land invasion by the colonists occurred along the Fish River. The Company, weakened by British competition in world trade, was unable to control and support the Colonists, who cherished ideas of independence, especially in the far eastern parts.¹⁶⁶ On the global front, the French Revolution broke out in 1789. A great change was taking place in Europe about that time: The autonomy of the human reason was established; the principle of freedom, equality and fraternity was promoted; ecclesiastical prejudice was objected to; the bible was criticised. This new mode of thought exercised a great influence on the whole of human existence —

¹⁶³ Lütjeharms in Krüger, 1966:49.

¹⁶⁴ Walker in Krüger, 1966:47.

¹⁶⁵ Krüger, 1966:48

¹⁶⁶ Krüger, 1966:47.

even the distant Cape came under the spirit of the newly discovered freedom of humankind.¹⁶⁷

Proof that the Moravian mission had learnt from the previous experience is also evident¹⁶⁸ in that Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel left for the Cape soon after their ordination (own italics).¹⁶⁹ On their arrival at the Cape in 1792, they found the government favourably disposed. Two commissioners of the Company were in Cape Town at that time, investigating the precarious conditions of the Colony.¹⁷⁰ They were responsible for the resolution taken by the Governing Council during 1792 and 1793, one of which was the permission granted to the three brethren to settle at Baviaanskloof in the pursuit of their mission, it being a spot where no Christian congregation already existed (own italics). A copy of the resolution was handed to them,¹⁷¹ but not a letter of conveyance; Rhenius, the acting governor, explained that it was unnecessary, besides, having no conveyance; they would not be liable to pay taxes.¹⁷²

The Khoi-Khoi the missionaries met on their arrival in the Kloof, lived in the same manner as they had done fifty years earlier, but had become poorer, having lost much of their cattle.¹⁷³

The news of the arrival of the brethren spread quickly and the rush to Baviaanskloof exceeded all expectations. People came from the

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Krüger, 1966: 8.

¹⁶⁸ The first issue having been the position of the Baviaanskloof outside the sphere of Stellenbosch (see footnote 71)

¹⁶⁹ Krüger, 1966: 49.

¹⁷⁰ Walker in Krüger, 1966: 51.

¹⁷¹ Genadendal document in Krüger, 1966: 51

¹⁷² The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 51).

¹⁷³ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I : 67 (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 53).

neighbourhood, from the Breede River,¹⁷⁴ from the Slang River east of Swellendam¹⁷⁵ and even from the districts of Graaff-Reinet.¹⁷⁶ Many of those who moved to the brethren were the descendants of Schmidt's former "first fruit" converts as well as Old Lena, the only living convert of Schmidt with her granddaughter.¹⁷⁷ This proves that Old Lena was not the only surviving fruit of Schmidt's work. On the contrary, his teaching had deeply and permanently influenced a whole group of people, abiding in it unaided by outside agents for over fifty years (Krüger, 1966:56). On Christmas 1793, more than one hundred adults attended the devotional gatherings.¹⁷⁸

Subsequently the work of the missionaries will be analysed under different sub-headings, to portray the public nature of it:

i) The education of the Khoi-Khoi

The brethren were surprised at the zeal of the people for learning, because Schmidt had complained repeatedly about negligent attendance.¹⁷⁹ They had to divide the day school into three classes, one early in the morning for the men, one before noon for the children and one in the afternoon for the women. Singing held a prominent place; certain evenings of the week had to be set-aside for this purpose.¹⁸⁰ Towards the end of the second year, the attendance of each class was about seventy and space became a problem. Two helpers were appointed - a girl for the children and a woman for the women's class.¹⁸¹ In this way, their education empowered the local people.

¹⁷⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:235.

¹⁷⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:189.

¹⁷⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:68.

¹⁷⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:67.

¹⁷⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:164-165.

¹⁷⁹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:172.

¹⁸⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:97.

¹⁸¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:278.

ii) The gathering of the first congregation

Apart from the normal daily Bible reading sessions, in the evening biblical texts were explained to the adults. The devotional gatherings were overcrowded (at times 200 people attended) and the people were much moved.¹⁸² Although the settlement had expanded and the worship services were attended well,¹⁸³ the brethren refrained from Christianising the residents on a large scale, selecting them individually after careful consideration and submitting each case prayerfully to the Lord. All candidates, after selection, would be admitted to the preparatory instruction, which from the start took place twice weekly.¹⁸⁴ The new members were instructed to call the missionaries no longer masters, but brothers. All who had been baptised should call one another brothers and sisters after the example of their Lord Jesus Christ, who is not ashamed to call his followers brothers and sisters, who do the will of His father.¹⁸⁵ At the end of 1794, the congregation consisted of four communicants, six confirmers, nine baptised members and seventeen candidates for baptism.¹⁸⁶ A strict discipline was applied to the members. They were expected to desist even from those habits, which were not expressly forbidden in general, because they had denounced the old life. Exclusions from class or meetings were mostly for drunkenness, dancing or immorality. The exclusions from the lessons and the meetings always had the desired result.¹⁸⁷ People had to make informed decisions and for that they were prepared and not just indoctrinated. The human dignity of people was also restored and recognised through evangelisation in that they were regarded as equals.

¹⁸² The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:92,93,175.

¹⁸³ An average of 200 gathered for the regular singing-service in August 1794 (cf. Krüger, 1966:55).

¹⁸⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:106.

¹⁸⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:130.

¹⁸⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:278.

¹⁸⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I:302-304.

iii) The inculturation process

The inhabitants were in general eager to change their habits. Dancing ceased in Baviaanskloof.¹⁸⁸ Instead, people would sing hymns on social occasions. They paid less attention to their dreams, because the brethren had warned them against it.¹⁸⁹ Several women severed their ties with a colonist or slave in order to live in Baviaanskloof.¹⁹⁰ People would come to church, not in their karosses anymore, but dressed in the European manner. The men built proper houses and made gardens and the place gradually changed into a little village. They would even at times when requested come forward to do voluntary labour whenever the common interest demanded it.¹⁹¹

New values were instilled into the community according to the values of the Reign of God and where appropriate good existing once was reinforced. Western habits were also gradually adopted in dress and appearance, which resulted in acculturation. All though they were initially accepted with their karos (sheep skin) and lice, the missionaries gradually taught them to wash themselves and to be clean and to cover themselves properly, for which the karos proved ineffective. However, it has to be stressed that nobody was rejected because of a karos with its little insects. It was also necessary for the mission effort that the people settle at one place and stop their nomadic life-style. That also required a change and adaptation. A different labour ethos had to be taught and learnt: from tending to livestock and a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to gardening and farming. From living in kraals to settling down with fix abode of at first clay houses and later on brick houses, which proved stronger for settling. Witchcraft was banned from the settlement, although herbs and the traditional healing methods were encouraged and the

¹⁸⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 63, 98.

¹⁸⁹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 300.

¹⁹⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 136, 204, 299 (cf. Krüger, 1966:59).

¹⁹¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 109.

indigenous intellectual property of the Khoi-Khoi was admired and respected by the missionaries. The missionaries admired the communal spirit of the Khoi-Khoi and the willingness to share. They were, however, concerned about their inability to thriftiness: they did not provide for tomorrow and seemed to have the approach, "tomorrow will look after itself"! This concerned the missionaries so much that they even refrained from preaching the text in Matthew 6 as an inappropriate reminder.¹⁹² The Khoi-Khoi was a kind-hearted people, taking pleasure in conversation.

iv) The economic life in relation to the farmers

The economic life around the village was a source of great concern for the missionaries. The people were very poor and most had lost their livestock.¹⁹³ The farm labour around Baviaanskloof was mostly done by Khoi-Khoi who could be hired for limited periods.¹⁹⁴ The farmers, intent upon preserving their hold on the Khoi-Khoi, tried in various ways to keep them from moving to Baviaanskloof. Many were held back by brutal force, which would leave the Khoi-Khoi even poorer if they would want to leave for Baviaanskloof, for they had to leave the few head of cattle and wages behind out of fear for a thrashing and run away to Baviaanskloof.¹⁹⁵ The inhabitants continued to work at times on the farms. The neighbours came to hire labourers for the season every summer. They received food and four times a day wine.¹⁹⁶ The wages of the men were three to four shillings and of the women one shillings a day.¹⁹⁷ However, the farmers were shrewd: on completing the harvest, they would invite the harvesters to a celebration where they would be given as much brandy as they wanted. In their

¹⁹² The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 287.

¹⁹³ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 38.

¹⁹⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 41.

¹⁹⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 238, 284.

¹⁹⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 162.

¹⁹⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 159.

intoxicated condition, the farmer would make them promise to come the next year again. Having acquired their pledge, he would supply them with more wine and brandy on account, which would put them in debt by him. Being heavily indebted in this way, most labourers never received any cash; with the result that their families suffer of hunger. The brethren spoke out against this evil practice and did not like the inhabitants to go to the farms because of this exploitation and the temptation to drunkenness and immorality connected with the farm work. On the other hand, if they do not go to the farms they have no livelihood.¹⁹⁸

The opposition of the farmers against Baviaanskloof was considerable. The neighbouring farmers were much poorer than those to the north of Cape Town. Some of them were employees of leaseholders, who lived in Cape Town. Only a few could afford slaves and a tutor for their children.¹⁹⁹ Farming and hunting occupied all their interest.²⁰⁰ Although they were friendly in their presence, they slandered behind their back,²⁰¹ which is an understandable behaviour among men, who were forced to evade the harsh regulations of the Company in order to make a living. The further the colonists lived from Cape Town, the more primitive were their lives. Mixed marriages occurred.²⁰² Most of them were illiterate. Their lives being very monotonous, the farmers enjoyed occasions for social gatherings. A number of colonists told the missionaries once that they were against the "Hottentots" being taught reading and writing. According to Kühnel, the reason was their fear that they would find it more difficult to victimise literate people.²⁰³ Likewise, Sluysskeen suggested to Marsveld that they

¹⁹⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 159. The missionaries appeared quite desperate about this situation.

¹⁹⁹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 236-7.

²⁰⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 207.

²⁰¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 77.

²⁰² The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 208, II: 23, 64.

²⁰³ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, II: 10.

were afraid that the Khoi-Khoi would find out their tricks.²⁰⁴ On another occasion, a colonist explained that the farmers themselves had no educational facilities for their children.²⁰⁵ A third argument was offered by a woman in Baviaanskloof: The farmers were against the brethren, because they dissuaded the Khoi-Khoi from drinking, dancing and immorality.²⁰⁶ Finally, there were still, given the attitude of the Stellenbosch Church Council, traces of ecclesiastical prejudice against the Moravians.²⁰⁷ Thus, the enmity of the neighbours had a variety of reasons (Krüger, 1966: 65). The harassment of the settlement by the farmers continued until the end of the company's occupation of the Cape. At one stage in 1795, the brethren and the people (mainly elderly, women and children) were even driven from the settlement by the news of an approaching group of colonists who called themselves the nationalists.²⁰⁸ With the Company weakened by the British fleet and threatened by the seditious farmers from the interior in 1795, the safety of the settlement was in the balance. The plans and actions of the Nationals against Baviaanskloof was an important part of their program to debar the migration of the Khoi-Khoi to Baviaanskloof and to keep them on their farms, illiterate and dependent.²⁰⁹ In their opinion, their own existence in the country was at stake. The preferential treatment of the Khoi-Khoi offended them. Their accumulation on one spot and their arming seemed dangerous to them. This Krüger (1966: 75) finds also evident from a letter, in which the Nationals of Graaff-Reinet warned the National-minded burghers in Cape Town against the Herrnhuters and the Pandours.

²⁰⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 225.

²⁰⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 225.

²⁰⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 281.

²⁰⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 226.

²⁰⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 80, 81.

²⁰⁹ Krüger, 1966:75.

The missionaries were handicapped in providing more opportunities for labour at the mission because of the insecurity of tenure, which prevented them from erecting buildings like a mill and even a smithy. They constructed a watercourse, built their house, cultivated gardens, lay on a cornfield, and kept small livestock and a few cows with the aid of Khoi-Khoi labour for which they paid them. They even tried new avenues. Linseed, rice and cotton were planted, but none of these experiments seems to have been successful.

They vigorously protected the rights of the Khoi-Khoi against the exploitation of the farmers. Crime however was not tolerated on the mission. The brethren were at pains to act correctly and justly without neglecting compassion. Evildoers were handed over to the authorities.²¹⁰ The settlement was no place for scoundrels.²¹¹

v) The issue of conscription and the interest of the community

Another issue that concerned the missionaries was the conscription of the men into the Corps at Rietvlei in May 1793, which left the women and children without support and food.²¹² When, in June the situation became too unbearable for the women, the missionaries immediately partitioned the government official Theunissen to obtain the permission from Gordon, the commander of the soldiers, for the men to return for a while to provide food for their families by working on the farms.²¹³ This partition had two favourable outcomes:

²¹⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 169

²¹¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, II: 40.

²¹² According to the missionaries it was the worst season, because no field-produce or plants were obtainable off which they could live (The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 96).

²¹³ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 111. They also wrote to Mr Gordon on the 26th August about the sad conditions under which the people live with their men gone at the garrison (The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 28). o this letter Mr Gordon replied saying that he gave as many passes to the men as requested, though it was essential that he ...protected th(e) country. (I:128)

Two Coloureds came on leave to sow corn for the family of the Khoi-Khoi who were at the garrison on order from the authorities at the Cape. They also sowed some for the missionaries. In a meeting with the inhabitants on the 4 September, it was decided that everyone who had a share in the corn should support the two Coloureds who would guard the corn against animals.²¹⁴

Brother Schwinn went to speak to Colonel Gordon on the 7th September 1793, who arranged a meeting between Schwinn and the newly inducted governor, Abraham Sluysken who not only gave 120 ryksdaalders for the mission but also 75 ryksdaalders for those families whose men were conscripted. He said to Schwinn not to allow those families to starve and that he should contact him if the money had been spent.²¹⁵ The authorities afterwards continue to care for the families of the conscripted by providing flour for distribution on a weekly basis.²¹⁶ All though this was not much in the view of the missionaries, considering all the families and the degree of their hunger, it was better than nothing was.

vi) The attitude of the DRC Church Officials

Due to the efforts of Van Lier, the attitude of the Church at the Cape, towards the new beginning of the mission, turned prejudice into appreciation. Unfortunately, he died as early as 1793.²¹⁷ The Reformed *predikant* in Cape Town and, more especially, the Lutheran pastor, Kolver, were very sympathetic. The catechist, Van Zulch, saw to the pastoral care of the Khoi-Khoi from Baviaanskloof at the military camp.²¹⁸ Marsveld

²¹⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 131.

²¹⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 140.

²¹⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 163.

²¹⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 60.

²¹⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1782-1794, I: 102.

found an outstanding supporter of missions in Michael Christiaan Vos, the *predikant* at Roodezand, who on his induction declared publicly that he intended to minister to the slaves and the Khoisan as well.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, this positive spirit of church co-operation was not to continue. Spoelstra in Krüger (1966:61) points out that the Reverend Meent Borchardes and the Church-Council of Stellenbosch enquired as early as September 1793, under what conditions the brethren had been admitted to the country. After the brethren had acquired a farm-bell with the aid of Theunissen and had hung it between two poles fourteen feet high to call their flock to church,²²⁰ it gave offence at once. It was said that the brethren had no right to ring a bell without the permission from the Government.²²¹

vii) The land issue and land tenure

The Church-Council of Stellenbosch took the next step shortly afterwards by requesting the Governing Council to remove the Moravians from its parish, which covered the whole district, including Baviaanskloof and to send them to a place where no Christian congregation existed. Although two members opposed the motion, the resolution was carried. Fortunately, the Acting Governor rejected it and advised the Church Council to be tolerant.²²² He also told them that he could not give permission for any buildings to be erected, let alone a church building, which would be contrary to the conditions laid down by the Council of Seventeen.²²³ Although Marsveld vigorously protested, the governor told him that if it were not for him preventing it, they would have been amongst the Bantu long ago for they have many enemies. Marsveld, however, did not leave it

²¹⁹ He and Van Lier thereafter initiated a missionary revival also in the DRC (The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 190).

²²⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 139 – 141.

²²¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 155.

²²² Spoelstra in Krüger, 1966:62.

²²³ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 292 – 293.

at that, but also paid visits to various other government officials who were all friendly and assured him that Baviaanskloof would remain in the possession of the mission and that they would not be driven from there. Therefore, the brethren remained insecure of their tenure for the duration of the rule of the Company, gathering the Khoi-Khoi in the open air or crowding them into their sitting room.

Thus, the rush of people to Baviaanskloof, led to incessant difficulties. It again happened in conjunction with the efforts of the Stellenbosch Church Council that a burgher of Stellenbosch tried to secure possession of the place Sergeants River to the south of Baviaanskloof. When the Field-Cornet came to establish the boundaries of the new farm, it emerged that it would include even the dwellings of the brethren. The missionaries objected at once, with reference that the Government had reserved Baviaanskloof and Sergeants River for the Khoi-Khoi. Marsveld went to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, who suggested that the brethren and the applicant should divide the land among themselves. When Marsveld pointed out that the Khoi-Khoi would then be forced to leave, he suggested that the brethren should then move to the Bushmen, where they would be useful. He however had no other option but to refer the case to the Governor. Marsveld then turned on governor Sluysken, who assured him that he would put matters right. Marsveld persisted by petitioning the governor to grant the place to the brethren as a loan-farm in the usual way, which he refused. After an official had been to Baviaanskloof for investigation, the project was withdrawn.²²⁴

A new attempt was made in the interest of the farmers to stop the migration of the Khoi-Khoi to Baviaanskloof. More Khoi-Khoi would mean more grazing land for their livestock whilst the farmers were trying to acquire more loan-farms in the area. Theunissen, the sergeant at the Post,

²²⁴ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 163, 169, 170, 175-181.

announced in the name of the governor that all the newcomers had to take all their cattle back where they had come, and instructed the brethren not to admit any people without a note from their former masters.²²⁵ The Khoi-Khoi remonstrated that they could not guard their cattle two or three days away and at the same time attend the school in Baviaanskloof. Moreover, some of their places had been occupied by farmers in the meantime.²²⁶

Marsveld, together with a delegation of Khoi-Khoi,²²⁷ immediately approached governor Sluysken and protested against these new measures, but in vain. Sluysken upheld the orders of Theunissen, which were enforced with immediate effect.²²⁸ The brethren had no choice but to advise the inhabitants to obey the authorities.²²⁹ Thus, the people were driven from place to place and the relations between Theunissen and the Brethren became strained. They knew that he had a personal interest in all this, for his son had acquired the adjoining farm of Weltevreden.²³⁰

Although Hendrik Cloete from Groot Constantia personally investigated the grazing situation at Baviaanskloof and adjoining area and bought the farm, not only to restore grazing rights of the Khoi-Khoi but also to have the others returned, it did not solve the tenure and property rights of the mission and the Khoikhoi²³¹ respectively.

²²⁵ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 326-328.

²²⁶ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 7-8

²²⁷ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 9 – 10, 11, 12, 15.

²²⁸ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795 – 1796, II: 13 (Cf. Krüger, 1966:67 for the whole text and related orders.

²²⁹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 15

²³⁰ The Genadendal Diaries, 1792-1794, I: 314-315, 324. This farm was given to him on condition that he would not harm the Khoi-Khoi let alone drive them off the land.

²³¹ The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 51.

b. The Mission under British occupation (1795 – 1800)

Under British occupation, the brethren could build the chapel,²³² erect more dwellings like the smithy²³³ and a mill.²³⁴ With the smithy at his disposal, Kühnel started to make knives on a large scale, which sold exceedingly well. For this enterprise, he could employ four Khoi-Khoi as apprentices and worked from morning until night. The demand was so great that they could not keep up the supply. The knives became the main source of income of the mission for a long time and made Baviaanskloof known throughout the Colony.²³⁵ The mill was in the interest of the inhabitants. Without it, they had to take their corn to a farmer, who would make them work on his farm, while it was ground and afterwards charge them with the costs against further farm labour. In the opinion of the missionaries, this was nothing else but slavery.²³⁶ With Marsveld as the miller, the mill created work for quite a few inhabitants. The attitude of the colonists towards the mission changed for the better, due to the influence of the Reformed mission friends under the leadership of Reverend Vos.²³⁷ The farmers began to realise the advantages of having a mission station in their midst. They praised the conduct and the industry of the men from Baviaanskloof stating that they never had Khoi-Khoi workers like these.²³⁸

Even the farmers from the Strandveld now expressed the wish that one of the brethren should come to dwell amongst them.²³⁹ Many Colonists attended the worship on Sundays and festival days.²⁴⁰

²³² The Genadendal Diaries, 1795-1796, II: 203.

²³³ The Genadendal Diaries, III in Krüger, 1966:77.

²³⁴ Krüger, 1966:77 (The mill was built in the same year as the smithy).

²³⁵ Krüger, 1966:77.

²³⁶ Genadendal Diaries III in Krüger, 1966:77.

²³⁷ Krüger, 1966: 79.

²³⁸ Krüger, 1966: 79.

²³⁹ Krüger, 1966: 79.

²⁴⁰ Krüger, 1966: 79.

Under British occupation a big rush to Baviaanskloof took place, which made matters worst. The issue of tenure had not yet been solved and the issue of boundaries caused much frustration. Baviaanskloof developed meanwhile into a flourishing settlement. Every inhabitant had a vegetable garden adjoining the dwelling. The houses in the village were built of clay, some still in the beehive shape other square with a thatched roof.²⁴¹ In an effort to increase the earnings of the inhabitants, Schwinn had taught them to plait mats, which sold well on the farms. The brethren encourage thrift and simplicity among all, arguing them to spend their meagre earnings on food and proper clothing rather than on wine and tobacco. According to a report (1798) from Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the colonial secretary, three hundred people attended the worship service all neatly dressed.

3.4.2.2 *Mission configuration from Kohrhammer to Rose (1798 – 1805)*

In 1798, Kohrhammer became the head of the mission at the Cape and he together with his wife started their work at the Cape.²⁴² For the first time the church authorities in Herrnhut provided in this great need of having a sister to minister to the women. Under Kohrhammer's leadership, a new decision was taken to build a church and to convert the chapel into a residence.²⁴³

In May 1800 Rose, the new head of the mission at Baviaanskloof, arrived together with four other Moravian missionaries. Apart from Kühnel, there were the wives of Kühnel and Rose, as well as two wives for Schwinn and Marsveld as arranged by the Church authorities in Herrnhut. Rose had to

²⁴¹ Lady Ann in Krüger, 1966:81.

²⁴² Philipp Kohrhammer in Krüger, 1966:81.

²⁴³ Minutes of the Mission Conference (16.6.1798, 22.6.1798) in Krüger, 1966: 82.

manage among other things, especially the economic affairs of Baviaanskloof.²⁴⁴

A new development in the administration and management of the settlement was the introduction of church council members who ably assisted the missionaries in running the establishment.²⁴⁵ With the office of assistants went the empowerment of these officials by sharing the authority at a certain level of church government, so that the inhabitants could hold them in high esteem as they did.²⁴⁶ The dispute about the boundary continued. The southern and eastern neighbours encroached on land, which the inhabitants claimed as their own.²⁴⁷ Consequently, Rose and Kühnel went to Cape Town to put the case for Baviaanskloof. It was pointed out that more than one thousand people had been living under the care of the brethren in peace and order for years. In times of famine and epidemics, the brethren had borne the burden with the inhabitants without assistance from the government. Therefore, they called upon the government to protect them from the exploitation and oppression of their neighbours. As the governor was unable to come due to the handing over of the Cape back to Holland, he promised to send a commission.²⁴⁸

The commission came and made a careful investigation. Certain boundaries were restored but the southern one could not because of a letter of conveyance granted in 1788 without the knowledge of the brethren. In order to compensate the Khoi-Khoi for this loss, the government offered to pay an amount negotiated by the brethren on behalf of the community to

²⁴⁴ Genadendal Diaries III (10.5.1800) in Krüger, 1966: 85.

²⁴⁵ Genadendal Diaries IV (31.5.1802) in Krüger, 1966: 87.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Krüger, 1966: 87.

²⁴⁷ Genadendal Diaries IV in Krüger, 1966: 90.

²⁴⁸ Genadendal Diaries IV in Krüger, 1966: 90.

their satisfaction to reclaim the marshland, which would render more land to the community.²⁴⁹

The new government arrived on 23rd December 1802 with the Batavian Republic sending two men to govern the Cape, De Mist as Commissioner-General and Jansen as Governor.²⁵⁰ They were inspired by ideals of humanity and freedom, derived from the French Revolution.²⁵¹ Rose and Marsveld went to Cape Town to bid them welcome. In discussion with De Mist, they learnt that he intended to close the soldier camp at Rietvlei where a great number of Khoi-Khoi was maintained by the government. He asked whether the brethren would admit these people to Baviaanskloof. In reply, Rose pointed out that the polity of the Moravian mission was to admit only people who earnestly desire to become Christians. Besides, the space was too limited. After the visit, De Mist instructed the people of Baviaanskloof that he wanted them to accept the teachings and the rule of the missionaries. If they did so, the government would vigorously protect the settlement.²⁵²

A farmer, Van Reenen, who accompanied Janssens a few weeks later on a visit to Baviaanskloof shared his view with the governor regarding the problem of the Khoi-Khoi.²⁵³ According to him, the Khoi-Khoi would be of more value to the country, if they lived dispersed on the farms. Quite a number of farmers had sunk into poverty because of a shortage of these people. According to him, many thousands of Khoi-Khoi had left farms, moreover, the neighbours of Baviaanskloof were complaining that the wages for labourers had risen from two shillings to six or even eight shillings. The inhabitants spent the earnings from the harvest for the rest of

²⁴⁹ Genadendal Diaries IV in Krüger, 1966: 91.

²⁵⁰ Theal in Krüger, 1966: 92.

²⁵¹ Krüger, 1966:92 – 93.

²⁵² Krüger, 1966: 93.

²⁵³ Van Riebeeck Soc. in Krüger, 1966: 94.

the year in idleness. Most of their cattle had perished through sickness under the crowded conditions of Baviaanskloof.

The governor considered together with Van Reenen and Rose the chances of introducing some industry into the settlement, such as the growing and spinning of flax. Rose pointed out that the missionaries had no experience and had come for another purpose, to which Van Reenen retorted that other people with the necessary experience should then take charge of the Khoi-Khoi. The governor expressed the view that it would be good to train the Khoi-Khoi in agriculture or some trade, but only under conditions, which were consistent with their freedom.²⁵⁴ Rose also shared with the governor the attempts of the brethren to protect the Khoi-Khoi against maltreatment by the farmers and to mediate between the two parties. On the issue of land, the governor mentioned his plan to put up a deeds office in Cape Town, to which Rose expressed his conviction that the farms should be surveyed properly and that the rich should be prevented from taking the land of the poor.²⁵⁵ This conversation shows Rose's concern about the treatment of the Khoi-Khoi and how he represented and defended their interests whenever the opportunity arose. Janssens on having considered the matter wrote to De Mist expressing his agreement with De Mist's idea of protecting the Khoi-Khoi forcefully by inviting them to settle in small groups at many places under the care of missionaries and others.

As the war between Britain and France was resumed,²⁵⁶ the men from Baviaanskloof were called up again for military service.²⁵⁷ The Commissioner-general, shortly after the brethren had made a visit to their adherents at the Wynberg camp, requested them to send one from amongst

²⁵⁴ Van Riebeeck soc. in Krüger, 1966: 94.

²⁵⁵ Genadendal Diaries IV in Krüger, 1966: 94.

²⁵⁶ Walker in Krüger, 1966: 96.

²⁵⁷ Theal I in Krüger, 1966: 96.

them to the camp for the spiritual care of the soldiers. A dwelling and a chapel would be erected, and the government would pay a salary. After the war, the rest of the women and children could join the men and a permanent institution could develop. As they had no mandate Rose wanted to put the matter to the Church Board in Germany, but the governor would not accept a delay.

After a meeting amongst them, the brethren adhered to the command. The conditions were that the brother should not be considered an army chaplain but a missionary, that his salary should be paid to Baviaanskloof and that he could work under the supervision and according to the polity of the Brethren.²⁵⁸ Kohrhammer took up this pastoral charge in August 1804 at Wynberg. The British fleet attacked and took the Cape, Janssens signed his capitulation on 18 January and Kohrhammer returned to Baviaanskloof. Before his departure, Janssens, as a last official act suggested to Kohrhammer a name change for Baviaanskloof. The brethren welcomed the gesture and proposed the name Genadendal. The governor confirmed the new name and announced it in the Gazette, but the request for a title deed, he left to his successors.²⁵⁹

3.4.2.3 The encounter with the Slaves and the Bantu-speaking people (1806-1816)

Due to the Napoleonic wars the brethren were cut off from Herrnhut. Krüger (1966: 100) explains that that might have been a reason why no new stations were established, except Groenekloof, although several opportunities offered themselves. Another reason is that Küster, who was heading the mission after Rose, was more intent on preserving than on expanding the mission. The number of inhabitants increased from 1,093 in

²⁵⁸ The Genadendalse Diaries IV in Krüger, 1966: 97.

²⁵⁹ The Genadendalse Dairies IV in Krüger, 1966: 99.

1805 to 1,276 in 1815, and the number of members from 469 to 1,096.²⁶⁰ Thus, most of the residents became members, one by one. This can be ascribed to the fact that there was no shortage of workers after Rose's death. The number of missionary couples increased to seven and more arrived in 1810 and 1811.

Of particular interest at the time was the Brethren's reaction to the request of the new Commandant of Wynberg asking Kohrhammer to return immediately to the military camp.²⁶¹ They delayed the answer, because the unsettled conditions of the Cape Corps militated against the gathering of a congregation. This points to their mission strategy, whereby they chose the site so that they could be in control. They however did send Schwinn, on condition that he was not under obligation to join the Corps, when it was on the move.²⁶²

After the arrival of the Earl of Caledon, the Fiscal Van Ryneveld proposed the farm Groenekloof as a second Moravian institution.²⁶³ The brethren suspected that the Government intended to harness them before its own carriage after all with regard to the soldiers stationed there and the slaves working in the area.²⁶⁴ Therefore, they considered the offer carefully. When Küster and Bonatz visited Groenekloof, they were encouraged by the fact that the Khoi-Khoi living in the neighbourhood, expressed the desire to be instructed in the Christian faith. Two old places of the Khoi-Khoi were

²⁶⁰ The Genadendalse Dairies IV in Krüger, 1966: 100.

²⁶¹ Krüger, 1966: 100.

²⁶² Krüger, 1966: 100.

²⁶³ Krüger, 1966: 101.

²⁶⁴ It was the concern of Caledon that the number of slaves attracted to the Christian faith was so few in comparison to those joining Islam. Therefore he would like a Christian institution in the area to make Christian education and worship more accessible to them. In 1820, 1,326 Moslem slaves were counted, which is probably ten times the number of the Christian slaves Cf. Records V1: 83, 270, 271; XI: 387; XII: 56 in Krüger, 1966:101.

near, Louw's Kloof, where Captain Klapmuts dwelled and Cruywagens Kraal. The conference at Genadendal thereupon submitted a number of conditions. It asked for a formal grant, freedom of worship, the right to eject people who were unwilling to submit to church discipline, an assurance that they would not be ordered to admit the dependants of soldiers to the congregations and the right of the Board to replace or withdraw the missionaries and to add any other conditions to the progress of the missionary work.²⁶⁵ Van Ryneveld's reassurance was followed up by a written affirmation on 23 March 1808 from Secretary Bird that the government would give them possession of Groenekloof, Louw's Kloof and Cruywagens Kloof in the same manner as Genadendal. The boundaries would be determined as soon as possible. Freedom of worship and of church discipline would be granted.²⁶⁶ Kohrhammer and Schmit took charge of the mission venture at Mamre with its more mixed population than the population at Genadendal. The Gospel was preached for the first time on Sunday, 27 March and Küster invited the listeners to move to Groenekloof. Eighteen plots were marked off, one row on each side of the river below the farmhouse²⁶⁷ and the Khoi-Khoi were quick to draw near. Klapmuts remained an adversary of the Mission and a heathen for a long time because of the inclusion of his place into the concession.²⁶⁸ A special feature of the new settlement was the attendance of many slaves on Sundays. They did most of the farm-work in that part of the country and the farmers were afraid of a rebellion of slaves. They did, in fact, rise in 1808. The brethren were in the midst of it, the more so since one of the leaders was a certain Abraham who belonged to the former tenant of Groenekloof.

²⁶⁵ Krüger, 1966:102.

²⁶⁶ Documents concerning Mamre and Pella (1808) in Krüger, 1966: 102.

²⁶⁷ Diaries of Groenkloof/Mamre (1808 – 1925) in Krüger, 1966: 102.

²⁶⁸ Diaries of Groenkloof/Mamre (1808 – 1925) in Krüger, 1966: 102 – 103.

The insurgents overpowered many farmers and plundered their possessions. However, British troops quickly quelled the rebellion.²⁶⁹

At that time, the British Government began to take measures against slavery. Slave trade was prohibited in 1807. People, liberated by the capture of slave ships, were apprenticed to tradesmen at the Cape for fourteen years.²⁷⁰ This dispensation also had an effect on Groenkloof-mission as two slaves were offered by the government for its workshop. Although the idea was very appealing, the Mission Conference at Genadendal decided that the offer should not be accepted. They, true to their policy, did not want to keep a man who might be unwilling to become a Christian, or who might give offence by his behaviour, for fourteen years.²⁷¹ The aim of the Moravian mission was to gather a congregation of voluntary followers of the Saviour, not to make a profit out of slaves. They limited their efforts, as far as the slaves were concerned, to the proclamation of the Gospel and pastoral talks on Sundays at both mission stations. A special problem pertaining to the slaves were the women of Genadendal, who became the wives of slaves. The conference decided to let them reside in the settlement, if their husbands allowed it.²⁷² As various request were received from slaves to be baptised²⁷³ the brethren decided to apply to the government to be granted the right to baptise slaves from neighbouring farms.

Another group of people, however, became inhabitants of Genadendal during this period, namely the Nguni from the Eastern Cape. A British Officer, Richard Collins, who officially investigated the situation in the

²⁶⁹ Theal I in Krüger: 104.

²⁷⁰ Walker in Krüger, 1966: 104.

²⁷¹ Minutes of the Mission Conference (1809) in Krüger, 1966: 104.

²⁷² Minute of the Mission Conference (1812) in Krüger, 1966: 104.

²⁷³ Minutes of the Mission Conference (1813).

Eastern Cape, enforced the measures that the Nguni should be pushed back to the other side of the Fish River. Nguni who wished to remain in the Colony, should be directed to a Moravian settlement, and mission work in the Colony should be entrusted to the Moravians alone.²⁷⁴ Farmers were ordered to dismiss their Nguni workers forthrightly. Thereupon, groups of Nguni arrived at Genadendal with letters from Collins, directing them to the brethren and prohibiting them from returning to the eastern districts.²⁷⁵ Most of them understood Dutch. All were admitted to the settlement. They had their kraals not among the other dwellings in the valley but after their custom on a hill to the east of the settlement. They did, however, become an integrated part of the community.²⁷⁶

Among them was a woman from the tribe of Ngqika (Eng. Gaika), who after having lived on different farms, became one of the wives of Coenraad Buis' son. This farmer had formerly been a rebel against the British and an associate of the Nguni. He lived with his three Xhosa wives in the Langkoof, teaching his folk reading and writing and the Christian faith. She also preferred to move to Genadendal where she was baptised, received the name Wilhelmina, and became the nursemaid of the missionaries' children. She fervently desired the brethren to proclaim the Gospel to her people and taught their children the fundamentals of her language.²⁷⁷ One of them, Johann Adolph Bonatz, later became pioneer missionary among the Nguni.

3.2.2.4 *The Mission: Civil Authorities, Spirituality, Economy, Education and Land.*

i) Political disputes

²⁷⁴ Theal I, in Krüger, 1966: 105.

²⁷⁵ Genadendal Diaries V in Krüger, 1966: 105

²⁷⁶ La Trobe in Krüger, 1966: 105.

²⁷⁷ *Nachrichten (GN 1868) aus der Brüder-gemeine*, Theal I, Mazwi in Krüger, 1966: 105.

The community also had its fair share of political disputes. Next to the church servants, the Khoi-Khoi captains held some civil authority in the community at large. They were appointed by the government to capture slave who had deserted or escaped, to transport prisoners and to assemble men for the army or for public works. They received remuneration and a captain's baton in recognition of their office. The oldest of them was Stoffel Cookson in Boschmanskloof. Two other captains, Christlieb Booda and Paulus Haas, lived in Genadendal itself.²⁷⁸ When Stoffel died, a quarrel arose about his succession. Petrus Mauritz seized the baton, but the missionaries objected because of his character.²⁷⁹ On their advice, the government granted the office to Leopold Koopman, whose father had been a captain in his time.²⁸⁰ The two other captains became his assistants. Thereupon, Mauritz incited the Hessequa tribe of the settlement to claim him as their captain alongside the other captains of the Koopmans. But the missionaries warned them against conserving their old tribal differences in a Christian settlement and pointed out that the Koopmans had the historical right to the captainship in these parts.²⁸¹

Mauritz, dissatisfied with the decision, appealed to the Governor, but in vain.²⁸² These disputes did not, however, hinder the development of the closely-knit community. Genadendal presented the picture of a living congregation because it consisted at this stage mostly of members, who had been baptised as adults on the strength of a personal decision and commitment.²⁸³ "*Gemeinde und Gemeine*" (Christian community –

²⁷⁸ Genadendal Diaries V in Krüger, 1966: 106.

²⁷⁹ Minutes of Mission Conference (1813) in Krüger, 1966: 106.

²⁸⁰ Minutes of mission Conference (1813) in Krüger, 1966: 106.

²⁸¹ La Trobe in Krüger, 1966: 106.

²⁸² La Trobe in Krüger, 1966: 107.

²⁸³ V in Krüger, 1966: 107.

koinonia – and civil community) on the settlement became fully integrated at that stage.

ii) Spiritual formation

The spiritual formation was further enhanced by the intensive pastoral care of the missionaries, especially the pastoral interviews. The congregation was not only divided into classes or steps on the road to full membership, but also into “Choirs” after the Herrnhut pattern.²⁸⁴

The use of intoxicating liquor was not completely forbidden. But people, who made themselves or others drunk, were put under discipline.²⁸⁵ The discipline and order in the settlement, the industry and neatness of the inhabitants and the worship in the Church made a deep impression on the many visitors.²⁸⁶ The system of church governance was, however, very patriarchal.

iii) Economy

The economy of the mission at Genadendal, which financed the work, produced an annual surplus derived from the various trades, the agriculture and the lodgement.²⁸⁷ It was further expanded. A forest was planted and new enterprises were started: joinery in 1810, followed by a forge and a

²⁸⁴ The congregation was divided into groups, called choirs, according to sex and age and marital status, for mutual edification. The choirs would get a section of the day ascribed to them for prayers and special festivals during the Church year for a specific choir. Offices were also introduced so that most of the members had a function. The singing services had a special liturgical significance amongst the choirs as they would sit and sing in turns in their choirs.

²⁸⁵ Minutes of mission Conference in Krüger, 1966: 109.

²⁸⁶ Cf. Krüger, 1966: 110 for a full list of all the favourable comments.

²⁸⁷ Minutes of Haus Conference (1808, 1813) in Krüger, 1966: 111.

tinsmith.²⁸⁸ They all had apprentices under contract for five years.²⁸⁹ Some inhabitants of Genadendal practiced their own trade and were quite well to do. A cart-wright and blacksmith,²⁹⁰ a cooper, a transport-rider and the owner of a hand-mill are mentioned.²⁹¹ Others were competent masons. Midwives from both stations had a good reputation, and were called by the wives of the farmers. When Baird improved the postal service in 1806, the Government appointed two men from Genadendal to distribute the mail across the country.²⁹²

Still, the majority was farm-labourers. Some were hired for the week, some for the month and some for a year. Their families remained in Genadendal. Since the slave trade had been prohibited, Khoi-Khoi labourers were very much in demand.²⁹³

Government and farmers alike regarded the mission stations as reservoirs for cheap labour. In the absence of the men, the spiritual work suffered and the remaining women and children, together with the sick and the aged, were an economic burden. When soldiers were needed, the government called on the residents of the mission stations. When roads were built or other public works undertaken, the Landrost requested the brethren to send workers.²⁹⁴ Farmers asked for labourers, and travellers for transport-riders.²⁹⁵ Whenever such requests came from the authorities, the brethren were in a dilemma. On the one hand, it was not their calling to participate

²⁸⁸ Krüger, 1966: 111 in this respect refers to V: 214, VI: 14, 63. Haus Conference Minutes: 3.3.1811, 5.1.1810.

²⁸⁹ Minutes of the Haus Conference (1808, 1812, 1814) in Krüger, 1966: 112.

²⁹⁰ VII in Krüger, 1966: 112.

²⁹¹ See notes 120, 121, and 122 in Krüger, 1966: 112.

²⁹² Theal I in Krüger, 1966: 112.

²⁹³ Burchell in Krüger, 1966: 112.

²⁹⁴ Genadendal Diaries IV (1810) in Krüger, 1966: 113.

²⁹⁵ Letter IV (1810) in Krüger, 1966: 113.

in the governing of the country. They tended to leave the application of government orders to its officials; the government, on the other hand, tended to make use of the brethren as local officials; and the inhabitants preferred the orders of the missionaries to those of field-cornets and captains.

iv) Government aid for education

The issue of government aid for the education was a positive development due to Sir John Francis Craddock. As an educationalist, he endeavoured to increase and improve the schools in the Colony by means of his Bible and School Commission, of which R Jones was an outstanding member.²⁹⁶ Genadendal owes its first school building to Craddock. When Jones visited Genadendal in 1813, he explained the principles of *An Account of the Progress of Joseph Lancaster's Plan for the Education of Poor Children*.²⁹⁷ Lancaster had devised methods for the education of poor children in England. In his institutions, the older pupils served as monitors for the younger classes. Placards against the wall and slates enabled the teachers to instruct a great number of children inexpensively.²⁹⁸ This system remained exemplary for the Moravian mission schools for a long time. When the brethren expressed their wish to have a separate school building, Jones put a scheme together whereby money was raised and timber donated by the government. The men of Genadendal supplied voluntary labour, and on 15 July 1814, the first school, a one-room building, was consecrated.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Theal I in Krüger, 1966: 116.

²⁹⁷ Genadendal Diaries VI in Krüger, 1966: 117.

²⁹⁸ Lancaster in Krüger, 1966: 117.

²⁹⁹ Genadendal Diaries VI: 277, 278, 283, 284, 300, 301, 334 – 336; Minutes of the Mission Conference (5.10.1813) in Krüger, 1966: 117.

Kühnel did not live to see the progress of the children's school for which he had done so much. He was remembered for his warm-hearted disposition, his love for the children, whom he had taught until his health failed.³⁰⁰

v) Land rights

The issue of the land rights was never (it appeared) finally resolved. In a report of the Circuit Court of 1812, it was reported that Genadendal was too small for its 1,157 inhabitants.³⁰¹ This was true and the fact that the inhabitants grew more and more fond of working the earth intensified the problem of land. Moreover, people who had been there before 1792, insisted on their rights. When the missionaries began to give plots to residents in Voorstekraal, Jan Baaitjies, who had been living there for a long time, protested to the Landdrost, who advised the brethren to be careful about land rights.³⁰² It was the first dispute of many between the brethren and the inhabitants about vested rights.

Sir John Cradock advised the missionaries in 1813 to apply for more land. They complied, asking for an additional loan-farm as near to Genadendal as possible.³⁰³ Stretches of land were cut off from the three adjoining farms for the benefit of Genadendal, for which the owners were abundantly compensated.³⁰⁴ By this addition, the land was increased to a total size of 4,923 morgen.³⁰⁵ Beacons were put up and a diagram was issued, but, in spite of the efforts of the missionaries, no title was given.³⁰⁶ Küster repeated the application with reference to the concession granted by

³⁰⁰ Minutes of the Mission Conference (173.7.1812) in Krüger, 1966: 117.

³⁰¹ Records X in Krüger, 1966: 114.

³⁰² Letter IV (17.2.1808) in Krüger, 1966: 116.

³⁰³ Minutes of the Mission Conference (9.5.1813) in Krüger, 1966: 116.

³⁰⁴ Records IX, Minutes of Mission Conference (1813) in Krüger, 1966: 116.

³⁰⁵ Genadendal Documents (25.1.1834) in Krüger, 1966: 116.

³⁰⁶ Records X, Genadendal Documents (5.5.1815) in Krüger, 1966: 116.

Caledon³⁰⁷ and La Trobe, the mission official in London, approached the Secretary for the Colonies for a formal conveyance of both settlements to the Moravian Mission.³⁰⁸ Cradock affirmed that he had secured the rights of the Mission, but that his advisers pointed out that the law did not permit an irrevocable grant of land to a missionary society.³⁰⁹

The final word came during the office of Somerset after he took office in 1814. After a visit to Groenekloof, he informed the brethren by letter that, in his view, the purpose of the settlement was to make the Khoi-Khoi industrious, but at present, they spent their time in laziness, uselessness and prayer meetings. Only the sewing-class of the English-speaking Sister Schmitt found favour in his eyes. He suggested that a system of enforced and controlled labour should be introduced.³¹⁰ Bonatz then drew up a careful reply, in which he described the system of the brethren. The Holy Scripture was their basis; the Gospel of Jesus Christ was their strength; teaching, exhortations and discipline were their method; converts, who lived industriously according to the word of God, were their fruit. The thought that their own fore-bearers were savages six hundred to eight hundred years ago and were transformed only very gradually by the force of the Gospel, gave them patience. The Moravians had applied the system in many British colonies under the protection of the government for eighty-two years and would not depart from it.³¹¹

The two letters reveal the difference of purpose between the government and the Mission. The government wanted to integrate the Khoi-Khoi as useful labourers into the economy of the Colony. The missionaries wanted

³⁰⁷ Minutes of the Mission Conference (4.12.1812) in Krüger, 1966: 117.

³⁰⁸ Records IX, Minutes of the Mission Conference (21.10.1814) in Krüger, 1966: 118.

³⁰⁹ Records IX, XXXV in Krüger, 1966: 118.

³¹⁰ Mamre Document (8.9.1814) in Krüger, 1966: 118.

³¹¹ Minutes of the mission Conference (17.9.1814) in Krüger, 1966: 119.

to gather congregations from among the heathen. The answer of Bonatz evidently made no impression on the Governor. He even suggested that the inhabitants be transferred to Genadendal.³¹²

After La Trobe had interceded in London, the Secretary for the Colonies censured Somerset and instructed him to grant the necessary security for the settlement. In his reply, Somerset gave the assurance that he was well disposed towards the missionaries, but pointed out that it was dangerous in general to cede the control over the Khoi-Khoi to missionaries. It was better that the land remained the property of the government.³¹³

3.5 Summary

Having discussed the establishment of the Moravian mission, and having analysed the ways in which it had faced up to the challenges it was confronted with in the past seventy-eight years (since the pioneer beginning by Georg Schmidt), we now turn to the period from Halbeck to the turn of the 19th century, which spans a period of almost eighty-four years. Having analysed the history of the Moravian mission chronologically to lay bare the publics, subjects and modes of its configuration as missional church, the research will henceforth explore the incidents and opportunities that the mission church encountered in establishing and administering its model of mission stations. The main emphasis will be on establishing and analysing its polity and praxis with regard to the empowerment of its adherents to live meaningful lives in the South African political and civil context with regard to the second and third public.

³¹² Records X in Krüger, 1966: 119.

³¹³ Records X in Krüger, 1966: 119.

CHAPTER 4

THE MORAVIAN MISSION: POLITY, POLICY AND PRAXIS IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS (1816 – 1900)

4.1 Introduction

In this section, international and local structures of authority with regard to Church governance are investigated with a view to establishing the aim, assessing the framework and analysing the attitude and operations of the Mission in relation to the aspirations of the indigenous members.

According to the constitution of the Moravian Church at the time, the highest authority lies with the Synod, which met every ten years and consisted of the officials and the elected representatives from Europe and North America. Between the Synods, the Unity Elders Conference (UEC) governed the Church from Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut. Its twelve members were German. Important decisions, such as the selection and the appointment of workers, were submitted to the lot. The office of the bishop was not an administrative one. The bishops had a pastoral mandate for the Unity (the world-wide Moravian Church) as a whole, and ordained ministers on the request of the UEC. Some members of the UEC were bishops. One of the departments of the UEC governed the mission work by means of correspondence and occasional visitations. A Helpers Conference (HC), which was responsible to the UEC at that time, was already in existence in Suriname and the Danish West Indies. Its chairman was the Superintendent of the mission field (Hutton, 1909: 401 – 410).

How would the local mission be organised to comply with the worldwide mission polity of the Moravian Church? What would the position of the inhabitants of the settlements be?

4.2 La Trobe and the mission authority structures

4.2.1 The Helpers Conference

The first task of La Trobe's visitation in 1816³¹⁴ on behalf of the UEC (Unity Elders Conference) was to reorganise the work at the Cape by establishing a Helpers Conference (HC). The work had hitherto been controlled exclusively by the Mission Conference of Genadendal; the Brethren at Groenkloof had no part in it. Now, a HC was established, with the Superintendent as chairman and four Brethren, appointed by the UEC as members. It was constituted on 5 January 1816 at Groenkloof with Clemens as chairman and the four oldest missionaries as members.³¹⁵ It was competent for all matters, which concerned the field as a whole, but subject to the UEC. Thus, it called the missionaries to their stations and instructed them in their tasks, controlled the finances, considered the expansion of the work and recommend Brethren for ordination.

4.2.2 The Overseers Council

La Trobe also attended to the external order of Genadendal. Of special importance was a request by the inhabitants for the appointment of a number of overseers, which came up for consideration.³¹⁶ The Brethren welcomed the idea of having a local police, because visiting Khoi-Khoi, slaves and colonists caused disturbances in certain houses at night.³¹⁷ Forty-four men

³¹⁴ Christian Ignatius La Trobe, the secretary of the Moravian Church in Great Britain, was strategically instructed by UEC to inspect the work at the Cape. He was in constant touch with the contemporary missionary movement in Britain and had won the support of many members of the other Protestant Churches. Among his friends were Rowland Hill of the London Missionary Society and William Wilberforce. Being a world-wide Unity, the Moravian Church could draw on expertise in times of strategic management as was called for by the Mission under British rule at the Cape. His skilful encounter with Somerset won the Governor over and turned his unfriendly attitude towards the Moravians into emphatic support.

³¹⁵ Helpers Conference (5.1.1816) in Krüger, 1966: 122.

³¹⁶ Genadendal Diaries VII in Krüger, 1966: 126; La Trobe, 1818: 273, 274.

³¹⁷ Helpers Conference (14.5.1816) in Krüger, 1966: 126.

were appointed to the office, after the Landrost had given his consent.³¹⁸ Should the overseers be given the right to take steps against Colonists? The Governor replied that anyone who caused disturbances at night should be locked in by the overseers and then surrendered to the Landdrost.³¹⁹

4.2.3 The Brotherly Agreement: The regulations ordering the life on the mission station

On the request by the Brethren, La Trobe revised the regulations on which the communal life of the settlement was founded and to which every newcomer subscribed.³²⁰ He drafted a document of eighteen paragraphs, taking the existing practical rules of Genadendal and the principles of the Moravian settlements in Europe as a guide.³²¹ What follows here is a critical analysis of his text. The first sentence is fundamental:

“The Regulations of a Congregation of the Brethren are not to be considered as laws, prescribed by superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a settlement of the Brethren. The object of the Brethren’s living together in separate settlements, is that they may be out of the way of temptation as much as possible, and that by preaching the Word of God connected with a wholesome Church discipline, a living knowledge of Jesus Christ and a godly life may be promoted among the inhabitants. Hence all

³¹⁸ Genadendal Diaries VII in Krüger, 1966: 126.

³¹⁹ Genadendal Documents (23.5.1816) in Krüger, 1966: 126.

³²⁰ This was done after the model of Herrnhut. On 12 May 1727, Zinzendorf put statutes before the community, which aimed at an orderly local government as well as a brotherly agreement. (See Addendum A). All the inhabitants accepted them spontaneously by handshake. Thus, Herrnhut became a village community under the local authority and at the same time a brotherly fellowship under the Saviour. The regulations of the settlement served to promote the spiritual brotherhood. A Christian settlement (the *Gemeine*) had come into being, outwardly as a place where Christian fellowship was practised and spiritually as a local realisation of the Church, the body of Christ, which has its members amongst all people and churches (Cf. Bettermann, 1935: 124, 125 on the use of the concept *Gemeine*).

³²¹ Genadendal Documents 1816 in Krüger, 1966: 127; La Trobe, 1818: 276.

the regulations of a Congregation must tend to further this object and to prevent whatever is contrary to the same”.

This shows that Genadendal was constituted on the same principles as Herrnhut had been in 1727 as a community of people who had voluntarily agreed to live together under the Saviour, although the missionaries were the de facto local authority under the Government at the time. The rules were meant to serve the development of a living Christian congregation. The regulations seem to be fair and well qualified.³²² Even when it comes to “the persons who are appointed to watch over the due observance of these regulations” (these were, in the case of Genadendal, the German teachers and missionaries), “whose admonition and decisions everyone is bound to obey”, the regulation is qualified by the following: “as long as they are agreeable to the Word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation”. Thus, the missionaries could not wilfully and autocratically (like the colonists, for instance) exercise their authority. The key concept here is “a brotherly agreement”; in other words, as amongst brothers within a settlement of the Brethren, which according to this document does not only refer to the missionaries but to every inhabitant.

With regard to the community’s relation to the government, it is interesting to learn that the inhabitants had to strive to do everything in their power to promote the welfare of the country, i.e. to be patriotic. Governments may change, therefore it refers to the *existing* (own emphasis) government. Again, only *in so far* (own emphasis) as the inhabitants are not exempted by privileges lawfully obtained. The local overseers are also regarded as authorities in approbation with the government.³²³

³²² See the Addendum A for the Brotherly Agreement.

³²³ See the Addendum A for the Brotherly Agreement.

Goodwill, morality, sobriety and Sabbath observance are addressed. One can understand that the sheltering of strangers could pose grave problems. Dwelling- and building-rights are matters that have to be controlled to ensure civil order. Health and cleanliness are important concerns in a community. Respect for the property of neighbours is basic to any cultured and religious community. Crime is outlawed and fell under the jurisdiction of the magistrate. Love, peace and harmony are the building blocks of the Christian community. Therefore, disputes between fellow believers should be settled in a Christian, brotherly way with the missionaries. Even in the event of the highest penalty, that of excommunication and ejection because of repeated criminal behaviour, an inhabitant is still treated fairly in that he/she is allowed to settle his/her affairs.

The regulations were introduced to the inhabitants at a public reading. Two years later, they were translated into Dutch with a few minor amendments. They were also applied to Groenekloof and supplied the pattern for later stations. Their influence on the social order of the mission stations throughout the country is considerable. For instance, the Landrost of Swellendam asked for a copy in 1818 in order to introduce them at Zuurbraak.³²⁴ In 1819, John Melvill asked for a copy on behalf of the South African Mission Society for the benefit of its institutions.³²⁵ A short time afterwards, he took charge of the London Missionary Society (LMS) station, Griquatown, at the request of the Government where the regulations were also applied.³²⁶

4.3 Hallbeck and the philanthropic movement

Hallbeck became the new Superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa in 1817. One of the new Superintendent's duties was to call a meeting of the HC. The UEC

³²⁴ Letters V in Krüger, 1966: 128.

³²⁵ Letters V in Krüger, 1966: 128.

³²⁶ Walker in Krüger: 1966: 128.

had submitted various suggestions for consideration, which foreshadowed the two main themes of Hallbeck's programme, the creation of an indigenous church and expansion. These suggestions were that the Brethren should make more use of indigenous helpers, that a missionary should be stationed at Cape Town and that the dispersed heathen on the farms should be gathered by the station missionaries outside the settlements (the so-called *Diaspora-method*).

Hallbeck also found it necessary to take care of medicines and poor relief, and gave attention to the improvement of order and education. In the second place, he improved the industry and welfare of the inhabitants.³²⁷ The meetings, which had been held in the afternoons, were transferred to the evenings, in order to leave daily work uninterrupted.³²⁸ When the people returned from the harvest on the farms in January, they were exhorted in a public meeting to save their earnings, and a saving bank was opened. More trees were planted, not for the benefit of the missionaries as in former times, but for the inhabitants. The men planted them by voluntary labour under the supervision of Hallbeck and a Khoi-Khoi captain, and it was laid down that the timber would be sold at half price to the residents. The profit would go to the poor relief.³²⁹ Voluntary labour became a lifestyle at the mission stations, which shows that people were prepared to render public service for the welfare of their communities. Another impressive venture of voluntary work was the erection of probably the second solid bridge in the Colony – the bridge over the Zondereind River in 1819, which was finished in 1820.

The purchasing of a farm in the Strandveld, which became the mission station of Elim (1824), furnished the mission with opportunities to try new methods, because the place was neither a grant-station nor an existing residential area of Khoi-Khoi.³³⁰ Hallbeck, in

³²⁷ Minutes of House Conference (22.1.1818) in Krüger, 1966: 142.

³²⁸ This was done in conjunction with La Trobe's suggestion (Cf. Letter to the UEC 16.4.1817 in Krüger, 1966: 143).

³²⁹ Minutes of the House Conference (2.3.1818) in Krüger, 1966: 143.

³³⁰ Hallbeck succeeded in buying the farm on quitrent as Somerset was under pressure from Philip and others (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 152). It has to be pointed out, however that it was at the request of the Khoi-Khoi captain A. Pommer to have a mission station established amongst his people that resulted in the

drawing up new regulations for Elim, used this opportunity to revise the Brotherly Agreement based on his experiences over the years. The fundamental principle that they represent a brotherly agreement between the inhabitants under the Saviour is preserved. What is remarkable is his statement that "*the missionaries derived their authority from the congregation*". Evidently, he considered it desirable to counteract the inclination of the inhabitants to devolve every responsibility on their teachers, and the tendency of the missionaries to act in an authoritarian manner. He wanted a brotherly relation of mutual trust between both parties. On the other hand, he stressed the authority of the Lord in all matters.

The extensive first part is a detailed exposition of the Christian duties in a congregation, based on the Ten Commandments and centred on Christian worship. The cross of Christ is proclaimed as the source of life for all Christian fellowship. A separate part is dedicated to marriage and the education of children, which shows that Hallbeck considered family life within the community of special importance. He explained the reasons for various regulations and coupled inhibitions with positive practical guidance. He further stressed the need for neatness, cleanliness and industry, and even warned against unnecessary visits to other stations by which precious time was lost for work.³³¹ In the second place, Hallbeck put the Diaspora-method to work, which entailed ministering to the dispersed labourers on the farms. The older missionaries preferred to confine their activities to the edification of a Christian congregation within the boundaries of the settlements. They foresaw many difficulties for extending the work to the farms where the Khoi-Khoi lived widely dispersed in very small groups. They could therefore only be ministered to on Sundays. Their aim of developing Christian communities after the pattern of Herrnhut could not be realised among farm labourers. On the other hand, the UEC urged them to extend their activities in that direction, and reminded them of the mission work among the slaves in the West Indies, who could be reached only by visits to the farms and by gatherings on Sundays. The Synod of 1825

missionaries Beinbrecht and Stein undertaking an expedition in search of a suitable place (Schmidt, LR undated: 31).

³³¹ Elim diaries I (26.4.1825); see also minutes of Helpers Conference (8.3.1825) in Krüger, 1966: 153.

considered the extension to the farms very desirable. By then Bonatz, instructed by Hallbeck, had already embarked on the road of the Diaspora ministry around Elim.³³² In accordance with the Diaspora-plan, the Brethren took pains to establish good relations with the farmers by personal visits. Consequently, no difficulties arose of the kind experienced at Baviaanskloof and Groenekloof in the beginning, and the farmers came to attend the Sunday services together with their families and their labourers.³³³

During the week, they brought their corn to the mill, which worked even in time of drought when the other mills of the region came to a standstill. A Sunday school was also instituted for Christian education after the service and about forty of the visitors stayed behind. The Sunday school became a regular practice and was attended by adult slaves, Khoi-Khoi labourers from the farms and a few children of colonists. The farmers expressed their gratitude for the opportunity offered to their children. In this way, the main purpose of teaching the dispersed people from the farms was being achieved.³³⁴

The community life at Elim, regulated by the newly revised Brotherly Agreement that had been publicly agreed to by the inhabitants, was also served and managed by Church Servants, for the spiritual life, and Overseers, for the civil life, in conjunction with the missionary. As a nucleus, three families from Genadendal settled with the missionary at Elim, whilst the other inhabitants came from the neighbourhood, many of whom had been connected with Genadendal for some time. Hallbeck had laid down that only proper houses should be built from the beginning, and that every man who did so, would receive twenty-five thaler and the roof-timber from the Mission. Within two years, sixteen neat dwellings were erected side-by-side, which was the beginning of Church Street. Further, the Mission gave them the use of arable land for two years, while they reclaimed their own plots. Each house had its own garden, which produced a rich crop of vegetables. The discipline was good from the beginning. At one stage the inhabitants complained that the discipline at the school was too stern, that the missionaries gave not enough time

³³² Anshelm (1927) in Krüger, 1966: 154.

³³³ Elim Diaries I in Krüger, 1966: 155.

³³⁴ Elim Diaries I (16-25) in Krüger, 1966: 155.

to their pastoral duties, and that the gifts from overseas were not used for the distribution of clothing. It shows that the people of Elim expected their guardians to look after them properly.³³⁵

The political changes in the country also had their effect on the mission stations. From 1823 onward, change in British Government policies brought about the end of the autocratic rule of the governors at the Cape. Philanthropic and liberal ideas influenced British policies. The champion of the philanthropic movement at the Cape, Dr. John Philip, fought for the rights of the Khoi-Khoi, and the exponent of the liberals, Thomas Pringle, achieved the freedom of the press at Cape Town. The British Government sent a Commission of Inquiry to the Cape, which made investigations over a period of years, sending reports and recommendations to London (Krüger 1966: 156).

What was the Moravian position at the level of leadership at the Cape, and of equal importance, of the UEC with regard to these trends; and how did it influence the lives of the inhabitants of the mission stations?

In preparation for the visit of the Commission in 1823, Hallbeck prepared a long report of comprehensive reflection on the position of the Mission, which he submitted to the UEC and to the Commission. For the purpose of this research, his opinions about the Khoi-Khoi, the farmers, the government and the LMS are of special importance and invaluable for anthropology (Krüger 1966: 158 – 160):

- (a) According to him, the Khoi-Khoi were neither better nor worse than other people. Their children were just as intelligent as other children were. Some bad habits, such as stealing, adultery and lying, had been unknown to their forefathers, and had developed only from their contact with the colonists. The original Khoi-Khoi were simple and open-hearted people, very strict in their married life and towards their children, honest and easily influenced. This was the reason why they fell so quickly into drunkenness and other temptations.

³³⁵ Elim Diaries in Krüger, 1966: 155.

They lacked thriftiness and persistence and were very open-handed and hospitable. A captain, for instance, who received four hundred thaler per annum from the Government, held nothing over for himself, but distributed everything among his relations and neighbours. They were also very attached to those who were kind to them. These were the people, who had found a place of refuge on the mission stations, outside of which they were under the domination of the farmers.

- (b) The standard of living and of education of the farmers was, according to Hallbeck, in general rather low, partly because they came from the lower classes in Europe, and partly because of their isolation on the farms. They were very hospitable and always willing to lend assistance, but had also certain failings. They looked upon cunning and cheating as virtues rather than vices. Hallbeck regretted most of all that they trespassed the sixth commandment so easily. Many a farmer was the father of his slave children, whom he could sell. They had opposed the establishment of mission stations at first, because it was in their interest to keep the Khoi-Khoi dependent on the farms. Their attitude had improved because of the peaceful and enduring labour of the missionaries. But Hallbeck was convinced that their enmity persisted under the surface and could erupt again at any time. They held the Brethren in high esteem, but were against the mission stations as such and still endeavoured to keep the Khoi-Khoi back on the farms, for instance by giving them credit for future labour in the form of wine. Only the protection of the Government prevented them from taking further steps against the settlements.
- (c) The Government supported the Mission largely, and its officials praised the Brethren beyond measure. However, their actions showed that they were fundamentally against permanent, self-supporting settlements of Khoi-Khoi. Hallbeck quoted the following examples: In spite of many efforts, even in spite of instructions from the British Government, the property rights of Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon remained undefined. Furthermore, Caledon's Pass Laws referred only to two groups of Khoi-Khoi, namely farm labourers and vagrants, but no provision was made for the free Khoi-Khoi of the mission stations. These

laws handicapped the inhabitants greatly in their movements. Finally, on occasion of the latest enlistment of Khoi-Khoi soldiers, the farm labourers were exempted, but one third of all men were recruited from Genadendal alone. In short, the Government used the stations for the accommodation of the women and children and the sick, but wanted the men either to serve as farm labourers or as soldiers. The missionaries were expected to keep order in the settlements and had so far been able to do so. However, considerable difficulties could arise if people who did not submit to the rules refused to leave.

- (d) Hallbeck was grateful for the friendly relations between the Brethren and the LMS. They could not be taken for granted. Various differences in the methods and opinions of both sides could cause friction. The missionaries of the LMS were on the whole more outspoken against the authorities than the Moravians with their Lutheran background were. Therefore, their relations to the officials were more strained. The Government preferred the Moravians, setting them up as an example. This gave offence to the British missionaries, who complained that the Moravians did not side with them in their struggle for the political rights of the Khoi-Khoi. Besides, there were differences of missionary methods, which could potentially cause friction. However, both groups fundamentally appreciated each other as co-workers and were at one as to their aim.³³⁶

In conclusion, Hallbeck considered the economic and spiritual condition of each station and made a number of recommendations. On the basis thereof, the HC submitted the following proposal to the Synod of 1825:

People outside the mission stations should be eligible for church membership. The property rights of the stations should be clarified, possibly by subdividing the plots of the inhabitants. Regulations, similar to that of Elim, should be introduced at all stations. The schools should be improved by the appointment of full-time, English-speaking

³³⁶ Anshelm I, 1927: 81 – 104; cf. Krüger, 1966: 156 – 160.

missionaries, teachers and sisters for needlework. Visiting ministers of other denominations should be admitted to the Holy Communion.³³⁷

These proposals show that Hallbeck strove for the improvement of property rights and the order of the settlements, for a higher standard of education, for greater fellowship with the other churches and for the extension of the work to the farms. The Synod gave its approval in principal, leaving it to the local Brethren to apply them as far as possible.³³⁸ To the Commission, which visited Genadendal on 22 November 1823, Hallbeck especially pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of the inhabitants. He wrote about the pass law:

In the proclamation relative to the Hottentots, issued by Lord Caledon in 1809, no notice whatever is taken of the Hottentots residing in missionary settlements, and hence they are sometimes exposed to great hardships. In the 16th section for instance, it is provided, that Hottentots, going about the country must be provided with a pass; and it is required that in this pass be stated where they go, and how long they are permitted to remain on the road, and if they deviate from the route, or are detained by some accident, they are treated as vagabonds. Accordingly, if a Khoi leaves a settlement in search of work with the colonists, he must be provided with such a pass by the missionary, but now such a Khoi mostly goes out on speculation, and it is therefore a great hardship to him to be obliged to fix place and time, of which he knows nothing himself. This is surely inconsistent with the title of a free labourer.³³⁹

A neighbouring colonist however complained to the Commission that the Brethren sold wine and other merchandise to the inhabitants, and that they advised them to spend their earnings on the station (Krüger 1966: 161). It became clear that the profit farmers made

³³⁷ Minutes of the Helpers Conference (2.12.1824) in Krüger, 1966: 160.

³³⁸ Letter from the UEC end of 1825 in Krüger, 1966: 160.

³³⁹ Report 1835 in Krüger 1966: 161.

from the Khoi-Khoi was lessened by the mission stations and that this was behind their complaint. In his reply to the Commission, Hallbeck stated that no wine or brandy was sold to the inhabitants since the visit of La Trobe. The Mission supplied only the Brethren and their workers with small quantities of wine on request. One of the Brethren kept a small stock of clothing and material for sale at low prices to the inhabitants. With regard to the wages of the inhabitants, it was stated that no profit was made from it. On the contrary, the inhabitants were encouraged to thriftiness (Krüger 1966: 161). On accepting the explanation, the Commission stated that the sale of clothing and the issuing of wine were in their view necessary for the protection against exploitation of the inhabitants. Even the first report of the Commission shows that the information supplied by Hallbeck, and the remonstrations of the British missionaries, had borne fruit. The Commission recommended that the colonists should be taxed for every Coloured person in their service, except for those on short-term contracts. This would incite the farmers to put their own families to work. The Coloured people should form their own settlements and should be allowed to offer their labour freely.³⁴⁰ The important Ordinance of 1828 cancelled the restrictive laws of Caledon and Cradock, making the Khoi-Khoi free people with equal rights before the law, including the right to own property (Marais, 1939: 156).

The mission was also not spared the new freedom of the press (Krüger 1966: 162). Theunissen, not yet satisfied with the missionaries, used this route (certain editions of *The Advertiser* of 1826) to contend that the missionaries enriched themselves by exploiting the poor Hottentots, making good profits out of their shops, mills and guesthouses and from the sale of intoxicating liquor, although they probably had no licences. It is ironic that the struggle for the freedom of the press by Pringle should have resulted in the farmers attacking the mission stations. The public opinion, which became vocal, was actually the opinion of the colonists. Hallbeck did publish a long reply, refuting the allegations, but later on decided rather to direct his energy at the government in requesting that the local regulations should be given the force of laws and that a dealer's

³⁴⁰ It was due mainly to the endless and untiring efforts of the LMS and Dr Philip against the Pass Laws that brought about the abolition of the Pass Laws. Philip even went to England in 1826 to fight for the rights of the Khoi-Khoi (Cf. Theal I, 1908: 356-365; Krüger, 1966: 162).

licence should be granted to one missionary at each station. To this the Governor replied that he was prepared to sanction the rules based on the understanding that they were a voluntary agreement among the inhabitants, that they did not clash with the law of the country and that the punishment of offenders went no further than depriving them of their local privileges. He would also be prepared to appoint an extra field-cornet or a member of the country-court to enforce the law at Genadendal, and to grant dealer's licences cost-free (Krüger 1966: 162 - 163).

Thereupon Hallbeck drafted new regulations for Genadendal, which were approved by a meeting of the male inhabitants and by the governor in 1827 (Krüger 1966: 163). Evidently, Hallbeck aimed at a clearer distinction between spiritual and the temporal affairs. The third section of the revised regulations is of special importance for this research. It stated that the responsibility for the public order rested with a Conference, consisting of the missionaries, fourteen appointed church servants and eighteen elected overseers. It had to apply discipline, to prevent irregularities and breaches of the law, to settle disputes and to decide on admissions and expulsions. The overseers had to be elected by those of the householders who were communicants. Only communicants who had proper houses were eligible. The Conference would warn trespassers. Those who did not mend their ways, would lose their privileges, such as their claim to poor relief, and, as a last measure, would have to leave the settlement. It was the first step towards local self-government in the temporal affairs. Elected overseers took part in the management of the community (Krüger 1966: 163).

The regulations were introduced at the other mission stations of Enon and Groenekloof. At Elim, a Conference of overseers held its first meeting as early as 1829. They shaped the life of the communities on the mission stations, and they still affect the life on the mission stations up to today (Krüger 1966: 165).

Thus the political changes in the country caused Hallbeck to improve the order of the settlements and to obtain the responsible co-operation of the inhabitants for their management. He regarded oppressive laws as great evils, but did not fight against them

in public like Philip and the L.M.S. He approached government by means of discussions, letters and reports and in these ways directed his opinions, criticism, dissatisfactions and approvals to the authorities. He did his best to reform the local mission so that the people of the mission stations could take equal responsibility with the missionaries, a movement away from the paternalistic system.

In the next section, attention will be paid to the encounter of the Moravian Mission with the Bantu-speaking people in the eastern part of the country. The issues of culture, customs and practises in the context of colonial expansionism and the resistance of the indigenous people to the colonial military invasions will be considered. The following questions are posed: How effective was the mission strategy of the Genadendal model in the new context? What stance did the mission adopt in its relation to the expansionist drive of the British colonial powers versus the territorial hegemony of the tribal chiefs?

4.4 Crossing new frontiers: the Moravian missionary experience with the mission among the Bantu-speaking people

4.4.1 In the beginning

On the invitation of Bawana, the chief of the Amahlala Thembu tribe (a Xhosa-speaking people), Governor Bourke suggested to Hallbeck that he establish a mission station amongst the Tembu³⁴¹ in 1828. The Bantu chiefs at that time competed for missionaries and regarded them as a symbol of prestige and as a protection against attacks from other tribes. La Trobe was conscious of the fact that Bawana had no longing for the Gospel at all, and that the Government supported the project mainly for political reasons (Krüger, 1966: 169).

However, he believed that the Lord had opened the door by using human ambitions and fears for his purpose. It was the time of the dreaded Mfecane of Shaka and the Frontier Wars, and Bawana was in the middle of it all – at

³⁴¹ For a brief description of the history of Xhosa people see Nielson, 1999: 13 – 15.

some stages he would be the unfortunate persecuted or prey, and at times a deliberate perpetrator (Krüger, 1966: 170).

The first Moravian mission station amongst the Xhosa was founded at the Klipplaat River in 1828, with a nucleus of Johannes Lemmerz and Friedrich Hoffmann, their wives, and five families consisting of two Xhosa and eleven Khoi-Khoi.³⁴² Among them were Daniel Kaffer³⁴³ from Genadendal, and Carl and Wilhelmine Stompjes.³⁴⁴ Despite the danger of Mfecane refugees and the animosity between the Thembu and the Xhosa throughout 1829, the work slowly grew. A school was started with the Khoi-Khoi and a new church was consecrated. More and more people approached the Brethren expressing their wish to settle at the mission. They were not only Khoi-Khoi, but also Thembu, Xhosa, Sotho and others, so that a mixed group of people settled at the mission. The Brethren already encountered polygamy at that early stage as a man arrived with his four wives and six children asking to stay because he wanted to hear God's word and start a new life. It must be stated that the people who settled there did not primarily come because of the Gospel, yet all came under the influence of the Word and the Christian way of life. At the end of 1829, 81 Thembu were staying at the Mission. The entire community now consisted of 27 Khoi-Khoi, 4 candidates for Baptism and 88 new people, all together 119 members (Nielsen, 1999: 26 – 41).

³⁴² Cf. Nielsen, 1999: 35; Krüger, 1966: 170.

³⁴³ Daniel Kaffer was a Thembu slave on a ship that was captured by the British. He was saved and brought to Cape Town where he was set free. After which he joined the Moravian mission at Genadendal, where he was converted and baptised.

³⁴⁴ Wilhelmine had been the relentless driving-force behind the Moravian mission amongst the Xhosa. She earlier moved to Enon in 1818 with the founding of the mission station and married the Khoi-Khoi Carl Stompjes.

4.4.2 The cultural encounter with the Xhosa

In the course of their encounter with the Thembu, the Brethren learned to know more about their various customs, which they also had to deal with from the Christian point of view. They could not simply be dismissed due to indifference or ignorance of circumstances; knowledge was needed and all customs and practices are expressions of convictions that rest on certain experiences in life, be they secular or religious (Nielsen, 1999: 44 – 45).

The customs regarding death: The Thembu did not bury anyone, except the chief who would be buried in the cattle kraal. The custom of cleansing was also strictly observed. Everybody and everything that had anything to do with the deceased were unclean and had to be purified. Even the house where death occurred, as well as all the belongings of the deceased, was burnt down. The people who had contact with the deceased had to be cleansed and washed themselves after the funeral (Nielsen, 1999: 45).

Apart from the issue of polygamy, the Brethren also had to deal with the custom of endowment for a wife in cattle (the practice of *lobola*). Even Bawana had once asked whether he could keep his seven wives if he became a Christian. The Brethren's reply was that it was of the utmost importance that he first accepts the Saviour (Nielsen 1999: 51 – 52).

The custom around the cattle kraal revolved around the love that they displayed for their cattle and included the songs of praise sung when milking cows and the naming of each individual animal. After having milked the cows, the cattle would leave and the kraal would be taken over by the men, and no woman was allowed to enter the kraal. Besides the work of milking, the men had to be free to hunt and be ready to take up arms, be it in defence or for an attack. The women did most of the other work (Nielsen 1999: 51 – 52).

When someone fell ill, it was practice for a witch doctor to “smell out” who had bewitched the sick person. Bonatz felt that he had to draw a clear line between belief and unbelief. One day Tambookies came to perform a smelling-dance for the benefit of a sick person. They insisted that the person was bewitched, and by this means, they could discover who the sorcerer was. Bonatz however stood firm that this practice was not reconcilable with the life of a believer in God and that they had to leave the mission station. Such action on the part of the missionary caused much tension and even endangered his life (Nielsen 1999: 51 – 52).

As the missionaries learned to know the people better, they gained a deeper knowledge of the concepts of Xhosa tradition and belief, which led them to modify many of their prejudices. Bonatz for one admitted that his opinion that the Tambookies and the Mambookies were ignorant of a God, and that they had borrowed the name Tixo from the San, had been wrong. He acknowledged, “in their country both old and young are well acquainted with Tixo. They know that Tixo had created and that He preserves everything”. They pray to him in times of war for protection, and trust Him in illness and in health. Thus, he concluded that the majority of heathen around them believe in a Supreme Being (Nielsen, 1999: 51 – 52).

As people from various backgrounds came and stayed at the mission stations, many exercised a great influence on the life of the community, and the old and new ways of living often conflicted. Those who were earnest and wanted to live according to the Christian teachings endured much and became an object of derision, especially of the witch doctors. On the eastern front the negative influence of the farmers, who stayed in the neighbourhood and were indifferent to the Gospel, was experienced in the same way as it was in the western areas (Nielsen, 1999: 47).

The conversion of the Thembu was a slow process. Many people would come to settle but few were really won for the Lord. Most settlers expected to gain something material, and when their expectations were not fulfilled, they left. There were strict rules of behaviour and all had to adapt themselves to the situation. It could, therefore, not be prevented that many suffered embarrassment and disillusionment. After all, the lifestyle was something totally new to them. It made them feel uncertain and insecure, and some were even unable to cope with the new state of affairs. Only through conversion were they really able to adapt to the new way of life.³⁴⁵

4.4.3 The mission in relation to the government on the eastern frontier

The Mission in the East could only take place with the aid and protection of the government. The government was instrumental in planting the first British mission stations, who were the first to work amongst the Xhosa, by supplying the buildings and even paying the stipends of the missionaries (Du Plessis 1911: 178, 184, 248). Krüger's (1966: 166) qualification that "the missionaries were at the same time agents in the pay of the government" is very apt. It is therefore always of interest to enquire after the relation between the government and the Mission, as the Moravians were very cautious to become tools of the government. According to correspondence between Bonatz and Governor Smith in 1848, Bonatz was asked to "present his views and opinions as to the best method and plans to adopt to excite in the Xhosa a desire to cultivate their lands by ploughing, and to induce them to follow habits of industry; the first step to civilisation and equally so to their embracing the Christian faith" (Nielsen, 1999: 73). He also desired that "the English language may be taught, to a total exclusion of the Xhosa dialect" (Nielsen, 1999: 73). In his answer, Bonatz impressed upon the Governor that by teaching them the law of God and

³⁴⁵ Nielsen (1999: 47 – 48) relates this state of affairs with reference to Shiloh. However, at the end of 1832 371 people lived in Shiloh with 130 in the close vicinity. Apart from occasional situations of tension and unrest all these former enemies lived in harmony with one another under the influence of the Gospel.

instructing them in Christianity, civilisation would follow. That was his experience of 16 years with the Tambookies who once they became converted became more industrious.

Of special interest are Bonatz's views on how the government could assist the missionaries to bring about civilisation with regard to the customs and practices of the Xhosa (Nielsen 1999: 73 –74). The government should assist the missionaries by "breaking down their heathenish and abominable customs which as they exist will prevent them from true civilisation". He admired the Governor's plan in abolishing the law of purchasing wives by cattle, violating girls, and prohibiting witchcraft. He then mentioned "the circumcision of the young men with the shameless customs connected with it". Likewise, the whole system of their healing of which "the smelling dances are only part of it and if possible, to put down the custom of polygamy". With regard to the suggestion that the English language should be introduced, he wrote, "I doubt whether it may be profitable from the beginning to teach the children the English language" (Nielsen, 1999: 73 – 74).

The views of Bonatz expressed in the correspondence clearly demonstrate a strong collaboration (almost a conspiracy) between Government and the Moravian mission, at least as embodied by Bonatz in the field. However, this was not the final policy of the Mission but of a foot soldier struggling with contextual issues in the ministry. The Mission Conferences and the HC would take up these issues and debate them continuously.

A public argument put forward by Wilhelmine in assessing the progress of the Moravian mission in discussion with the Governor in October 1859 was that the Moravians had great influence because they not only taught and preached but also cared for the environment (Nielsen 1999: 103 – 104). The development of the site at Shiloh had once caught the interest and

imagination of the late chief Maphasa. It was, therefore, not enough to preach on Sundays; people should also have an example to follow. The Brethren understood her very well, but they were also aware of possible misconceptions. On the one hand, they were against the idea of people who only saw the significance of Mission work as far as it furthered civilisation. On the other hand, they realised that Mission work that emphasised preaching only and neglect the furtherance of Christian morality and way of life in all its aspects, was also wrong, so that it would always depend on how (holistically) Mission work would actually be carried out. The Brethren accepted the reproach of the Governor and Wilhelmine as they were indeed rather slow moving compared with the Mission undertakings of other Churches, whose missionaries had advanced and extended their work beyond the frontier of the Colony into the interior. Their growth was slow not only because of the lack of co-workers and finances, but also because the development of a mission station needed time, skills and hard work and, what was even more important for them, the spirituality of the inhabitants. They considered the spirituality and morality, and they did not merely want to make converts and count members.³⁴⁶

The work method of the Brethren was, of course, laudable and commendable. They did not want superficial but deeper understandings of the Christian faith, love and lifestyle. But it proved to be a hindrance for the Mission outreach, as they became too involved on the local level to look beyond the daily challenges. As the stations developed and improvements were made, they needed proper and constant upkeep. They were also absorbed in their daily duties of caring for the souls and ministering to their congregations. They were engaged in so many congregational and local issues that they were not free to take up any new Mission enterprises (Nielsen, 1999: 104 – 105).

³⁴⁶ Nachrichten, 1859: 629 – 639 in Nielsen, 1999: 104.

4.4.4 The forum of the mission conferences

At the second Moravian Mission Conference of July 1862 common problems were taken up (Nielsen 1999: 112). Concerning circumcision, they agreed that the act itself was not a sin, but all other things connected with it, especially the recognition of non-Christian rites and practices, were reprehensible. The same was said about intonjana, the feast of puberty of girls. Concerning lobola, the dowry, the opinion differed greatly. Some looked upon as "a gift of the bridegroom to his bride". Others saw the servitude of women who became objects because payment had to be received for raising girls and argued that lobola needed to be abolished. Another view was that the wife in this way enjoys protection and care, as payment was involved. With regard to traditional beer-drinking it was felt that beer-drinking should not be compared to brandy, as it was food when no milk was available, but that the mission should be against beer-drinking bouts.³⁴⁷

Another useful forum for Mission co-operation was the Conference of all missionaries held in 1863 and thereafter annually. At the meeting at Alice in 1864 the necessity of a new translation of the Bible in Xhosa was considered. Meetings such as these became regular features of Mission work. Although agreements on common action and a joint stand could often not be found, such conferences were nevertheless of great value for the Moravian Mission, because ideas could be shared and interchanged and misunderstandings could be removed, which was of benefit to all Mission societies (Nielsen, 1999: 112).

4.4.5 Review of the foundation work in the Eastern District

The period under review had been a most difficult beginning, and repeatedly obstacles and incredible hardships had to be faced and overcome (Nielsen 1999: 126). It was in itself nothing less than a miracle that the Mission work

³⁴⁷ Allgemeine Mission Conference April/Jun 1862; cf. Nielsen, 1999: 112.

had not been abandoned, considering the attacks, wars, buildings being burnt down, constantly fleeing for one's life, and the struggle with the indigenous culture and language. It is indeed a story of disaster, but also of survivals. From the ruins arose a new Shiloh, a new Goshen and a new Baziya. The gradual growth of the settlements was remarkable, and Shiloh became for the Eastern District what Genadendal was for the Western District, the mother congregation. Steady progress was made in the congregation and also in the fields of education and training. Due to the stability that the Moravian Eastern District brought on the political front, Governor Smith could remark that he would rather have nine such mission stations at the frontier than nine military posts (Nielsen, 1999: 126). The mission stations could serve his military, economic and political purpose in securing peace and stability.

The reports of the Brethren³⁴⁸ were realistic, devoid of any romantic notions when they dealt with the progress of the station and the work in the schools. The same applied to reports on the congregational work and community affairs. They shared their joys and hopes, and also their disappointments, as they experienced the edification and progress, backsliding and regression of the members and inhabitants in the settlements. Their reports, according to Nielsen (1999: 127), were characterised by the old type of Moravian spirituality: their simple faith in the Crucified Lord and compassionate love combined with the sense of responsibility, untiring diligence and the preparedness to make sacrifices for the Lord.

Of strategic importance for the mission work in the Eastern District was the composition of the inhabitants at the mission stations. The closed settlements had been set up according to the Genadendal model, which did not consider the situation in the east where members of many nations came and stayed together: the Thembu, Xhosa, Mfengu and others (Nielsen 1999:

³⁴⁸ Cf. *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-gemeine 1865*: 1058 – 1865.

127). In addition to the language difficulties, there were also misunderstandings, and even animosity, between the Xhosa and the Fingo, which also influenced life in the settlements, especially during times of unrest and war. The co-operation with the government through the closed settlements also led to suspicion amongst the chiefs. Chiefs were also in competition with one another about the mission work in their areas, which they considered as good omens within their cultural and political contexts. The missionaries were constantly caught up between the rival parties. No wonder the mission stations were burnt down and destroyed in the process of Xhosa attempts to reclaim their land from the invading Europeans (Krüger 1966: 172).

The settlements certainly had their advantages and many people wanted to settle. Some had the wish to learn to know the Lord, some looked for a place of refuge in times of need and war, and some were only drawn by a sense of curiosity; some soon left again, others remained. During the probation period they co-operated well in every respect, even attending the services, but as soon as they received permanent residence with all the privileges, some reverted to their traditional way of life. This interfered with building a Christian community life around a living congregation, which was the ultimate aim of the prayers and work of the missionaries. A special area of tension between the European Christian conviction and the indigenous Bantu was their cultural customs and practices; some of which the missionaries felt could not be reconciled with Christianity.

It must also to be kept in mind that the Xhosa were farmers for whom land and cattle were fundamentally important conditions of life. They did not stay in villages, nor were they settled farmers, so that the life in the closed settlements was alien to them, interrupting their customary mode of life (Nielsen 1999: 128).

Consequently, more progressive elements amongst the missionaries, who aligned themselves with Wilhelmina's rapid church-planting approach among her people, strongly started to promote the idea that the grant station-system was not the most effective missionary strategy for the eastern areas. They thought it advisable for the people in the field to head the work independently from Genadendal (Nielsen 1999: 115).

4.4.6 The division of the Moravian mission work in Southern Africa

At the General Synod of 1869 it was resolved that the South African Mission Provinces should be divided.³⁴⁹ The Eastern District was placed directly under the Mission Department of the Unity Elders Conference so that it no longer needed any interposition or intervention of the HC in Genadendal. The Eastern District was made officially independent of Genadendal and could enter upon its own course of development.³⁵⁰ They recognised the financial implication of this decision; they would now have to utilise all means to increase their income and decrease their expenses (Nielsen, 1999: 122).

The factors that contributed³⁵¹ to this decision were as follows:

Firstly, the travelling costs of visitations by the superintendent from Genadendal, and other financial expenses. The lack of financial means had already been the main cause for refusing the many requests to establish mission stations in the East.

The second reason was the issue of administration, which could be conducted more efficiently by those directly involved in the work, knowing

³⁴⁹ Cf. Minutes of the General Synod, 1869: 84 – 108, 265.

³⁵⁰ At the time of division SAE had 5 congregations, 8 missionaries, 7 indigenous helpers, 1 194 members and 5 schools. SAW 7 congregations, 17 missionaries, 12 indigenous helpers, 7 621 members and 13 schools.

³⁵¹ Cf. Minutes of the general Synod, 1869: 89 – 108 (Cf. Nielsen, 1999: 123).

the situation, which was quite different from the one experienced in the West.

It was not only the question of another language and another culture, but also of a different lifestyle, so that the directives given to the Brethren for the work were not always applicable and practicable. A special factor of their situatedness was the fact that they were surrounded by English mission stations, which affected their operations (Nielsen 1999: 123).

Having dealt with the establishment of the mission work in both the Western and Eastern Districts in the context of the structural, cultural and political environment, the phenomenon of the closed settlements as Moravian praxis (its special approach to mission) at the Cape will be assessed. It was already apparent that there was dissatisfaction with the model in the Eastern District.

4.5 The Moravians in two worlds: the public of the close settlement in relation to the public of the Cape society

4.5.1 The phenomenon of the mission enclaves in the public opinion

Although the close settlement system of the Moravians was praised by many a governor and visitor alike, the system was also criticised on the Eastern Frontier as well as in the West of the country. In the Western District of the Moravian Mission, as a consequence of the political changes in the Cape, the continued existence of the closed settlements came under pressure from three sides. The farmers complained that the Coloured people led an easy life at the stations, while there was an acute shortage of labour on the farms. The philanthropists reckoned that the missionaries were no longer needed as protectors and guardians and that the settlements should be transformed into open villages; and that the fear amongst the missionaries that the rush of the former slaves to the settlements would endanger the traditional order under the regulations was unfounded (cf. Krüger 1966: 165 – 157).

A quick turn to the liberation of the slaves and their integration into the closed settlements would reveal that the fear of the Brethren that the event would be accompanied by disorder, proved unnecessary.³⁵² The Brethren's view about slavery according to Krüger (1966: 195) was that "they abhorred it". Hallbeck called it "the blackest of all evils, which must certainly lead to the destruction of the country".³⁵³ The Synod of 1825 warned the missionaries in the West Indies explicitly against participation in the struggle for the liberation of the slaves, because it was not part of their task and would invite the hostility of the farmers to the detriment of the missionary work.³⁵⁴ The same restraint was shown by the Brethren at the Cape. In their mission work, they became "slaves to the slaves and free men to the free, in order to win some for Christ".

Although the slaves were set free on 1 December 1834, those at the Cape had to remain under their masters for another four years. In the evening service at Genadendal and Elim, thanks were given for the victory of the humanitarians, and prayers were offered that the temporal freedom might lead many to the freedom from sin.³⁵⁵

On Sunday, 2 December 1838, the congregation of Genadendal gave thanks once more for the liberation; at Elim,³⁵⁶ most of the ex-slaves were unable to attend the special service because it was harvest time and a heavy rain fell.³⁵⁷ However, at Groenekloof, many came in spite of the bad weather for the special thanksgiving service held for their benefit in the Church.³⁵⁸

³⁵² Anselm II: 83 in Krüger, 1966: 196.

³⁵³ Anselm II: 83 in Krüger, 1966: 195.

³⁵⁴ Synod 1825: 108 in Krüger, 1966: 195.

³⁵⁵ Diary of Genadendal (1.12.1834) in Krüger, 1966: 195.

³⁵⁶ Elim apparently is the only place, at least in SA, where a monument for the liberation of the slaves was erected.

³⁵⁷ Elim Dairy, 1.12.1838 in Krüger, 1966: 196.

³⁵⁸ Mamre Dairy, 2.12.1838 in Krüger, 1966: 196.

Until 10 September 1840, 1411 people had been admitted to the Moravian settlements of Genadendal (741), Elim (416) and Groenekloof (371).³⁵⁹ Every applicant was first instructed in the Regulations and, after the Conference had given its approval and it was confirmed by prayerful consideration (popularly called the Lot), the candidate had to solemnly promise to obey them. A plot was allotted and the person could start building a house.³⁶⁰ It has to be assumed that only those who were willing to accept the local discipline moved into the settlements. It became evident that the newcomers were valuable assets to the communities: "They had learnt more in the 'hard school of slavery' than the Khoi-Khoi in their state of 'freedom'" (Marais, 1939: 176). They were hard working people and eager to hear the word of God. The Mission stations were enriched by a progressive element (Marais, 1939: 177).

In order to earn their living, some remained as workers on the farms in the interest of all parties. Hallbeck therefore contacted the farmers with the purpose of establishing more out-stations for regular visitation and preaching in the neighbourhood, to which some agreed. However, other farmers regarded the concentration of their former slaves at the mission stations as a danger. Rumours spread and were even mentioned in the Legislative Council that thousands of ex-slaves loitered about in the settlements, while the farms were without labourers. The Government sent Judge Menzies to Genadendal and Elim for an investigation. He found that the figures were grossly exaggerated, and that the people went to the farms for work, as hitherto. The Brethren expressed the opinion that only the farmers who treated their labourers badly experienced difficulties.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Genadendal Diary X, 31.12.1837, 31.12.1840; Elim Diary, 31.12.1837, 31.12.1840; Mamre diary, 1837, 1840 in Krüger, 1966: 196.

³⁶⁰ Anselm II: 84 in Krüger, 1966: 196.

³⁶¹ Genadendal Diary X, 7/8.7.1839; Elim Diary I, 4/5.7.1839; Anselm II: 84, 85 in Krüger, 1966: 197.

In evaluating the mission stations, it is also important to mention the opinions of people outside the context of the Brethren. Krüger (1966: 221 – 224) mentions that when the Mission wanted to acquire Hemel en Aarde as another mission station in 1845, the Government invited seven prominent people in the vicinity to give their confidential view with regard to a cost-free grant of such a valuable farm for the establishment of a Moravian institution. The Cape was at that stage on the way to self-government, and the authorities had to consider public opinion.³⁶²

Five of the invited respondents regarded the institutions as revolting segregationist conglomerations of people, who led a useless and lazy life under the tutelage of the missionaries. One of the writers asserted that there was probably not a single farmer in the district of Caledon who did not regard the institutions as obstacles to the advancement of the country.³⁶³ Krüger (1966: 222) ascribes this antagonism to the combination of two views: the philanthropic idea that the Coloured people, who had become equals before the law, must be freed from the tutelage of the missionaries, on the one hand, and the self-interest of the colonists who were short of farm labourers, on the other. Two strong emotions animated the writers: the humanistic idealism of the Enlightenment and jealousy at the profitable business of the missionaries and at the authority that they exercised over the inhabitants. The writers made various recommendations. One suggested that the stations should be subdivided and the plots given to the inhabitants for life, and thereafter revert to the Government.³⁶⁴ Another proposed that plots should be offered to Coloured people on suitable sites near the villages in order to draw the progressive elements away from the stations to places where they would be useful.³⁶⁵ All agreed that the mission stations should

³⁶² Walker, 1959: 233 in Krüger, 1966: 221.

³⁶³ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No 1 – 7 in Krüger, 1966: 222.

³⁶⁴ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No 5 in Krüger, 1966: 222.

³⁶⁵ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No 3 in Krüger, 1966: 222.

be abolished: "They isolate classes and impoverish the country by unprofitably absorbing the operatives of what would otherwise be active and accumulative industry".³⁶⁶

Only two of the writers differed in their opinions from the others. One of them conceded that many of the liberated slaves had at first lived in idleness in the institutions. But conditions had changed: Most of the able-bodied men worked on the farms, and even women and children joined them during harvest time. Besides, the education provided by the institutions promised to make the next generation valuable citizens of the country.³⁶⁷ The other person wrote:

If more provisions were made by means of Itinerant Teachers and Ministers for affording the benefits of secular and religious instruction to all classes and if effectual means could be employed for dispelling the prejudices still existing on the subject of colour, so that all classes were readily admitted to an equal participation in the same religious and civil privileges, then the increase of Missionary Institutions would rather to be deprecated than encouraged. Unless however such provision is made and the right to participate in such privileges is acknowledged and acted upon, it must be expected, that the friend of the Coloured population will continue to provide and that the Coloured population themselves will eagerly embrace the advantages and privileges of Missionary Institutions.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No 5 in Krüger, 1966: 222.

³⁶⁷ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No. 4 in Krüger, 1966: 223.

³⁶⁸ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No. 1 in Krüger, 1966: 223.

In other words, as long as colour prejudice prevented the Coloured people from full and equal access to all privileges, mission stations would be desirable.

According to one other writer (in Krüger 1966: 224), "it was generally known that the Moravian missionaries sent large amounts annually to Europe out of their profits":

They enticed the people by offering plots and building loans, but after the newcomers had built their dwellings, they were at the mercy of the missionaries, who could eject them at any time under the Regulations. The inhabitants were not allowed to be absent from the stations for longer than a few weeks without special permission. The missionaries proclaimed festivals on purpose, in order to have the wages brought to Genadendal. Nobody was allowed to open a shop in the settlements or to buy anywhere except at the mission-shop, where extravagant prices were demanded. After the inhabitants had spent their wages, they passed the rest of the year in poverty, idleness and immorality. It was true that the Magistrates rarely punished people from Genadendal for contraventions of the law, whereas convictions of other Coloured people were numerous. But the reason was that the missionaries concealed the misdeeds of their wards. The character of the Coloured people was too well known to allow for any other explanation. I have no hesitation in stating, that the Moravian Missionary Institutions are generally regarded throughout the country as perfect sinks of iniquity and as affording a sanctuary for thieves and disorderly vagabonds of every description.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, No. 2 in Krüger, 1966: 224.

Gladstone, the new Colonial Secretary, invited Kölging and La Trobe to defend themselves against the accusations.³⁷⁰ They then submitted long memoranda, in which they refuted unjust allegations, demanded an impartial enquiry, and stated that the purpose of the mission stations of gathering people around the word of God by means of church and school was as valid under the new (political) conditions as in former times.³⁷¹ However, Montagu refused to reveal the names of the writers,³⁷² no enquiry was instituted and the matter was closed.

The abusive character of the allegations is evident and the viciousness of the accusations must be seen against the background of the difficulties that the farmers experienced with their labour supply. Obviously, the inhabitants of the stations preferred the paternal control of the missionaries to the fate of having to live on a farm. The author agrees with Krüger (1966: 225) that the picture of Genadendal painted above (or of any other Moravian station for that matter) on the whole, is at best a caricature. Even so, it is instructive as a supplement to the extravagant praise, which has been bestowed on the institutions by travellers and officials. It has to be conceded though, that the economy, which the Brethren operated, and the authority that they wielded over the residents, were open for misuse. Hallbeck's efforts and aim to develop self-supporting and self-governing Christian communities as demonstrated above have sometimes been lost site of. These views, however, serve to demonstrate how public the missionary affairs of the Moravians were and that they were never out of the public eye, whether that of the political authorities or society at large.

³⁷⁰ Hemel en Aarde Document, 2.3.1846, 16.3.1846, June 1846 in Krüger, 1966: 225.

³⁷¹ Hemel en Aarde Document, 30.12.1846, 8.5.1847, in: Krüger, 1966: 225.

³⁷² Helpers Conference, 30.12.1846 in Krüger, 1966: 225.

From its own ranks, the South African Eastern District criticised the existence of "Grant stations".³⁷³ Strategically, one of the difficulties or hindrances for the work in the East was the so-called "Grant System", which characterised the Moravian work in the Western District. This system required of the missionaries to be in charge of the management, which would include the governmental, educational, industrial and religious aspects. These Grant Stations (in the East: Shiloh, Engotini and Goshen) were settlements that developed a smithy, a carpentry workshop, an aqueduct, a water mill and whatever else was needed in a community. The inhabitants were taught to be gardeners, farmers and artisans. The aim was to turn any such places into a Christian village. These stations were to give great trouble later in connection with the question of ownership; the first problem had already arisen when the payment of road taxes was due (Nielsen 1999: 125).

On the Eastern Frontier, these settlements had another objective because the Government wanted to use them for the purpose of "civilising" the Xhosa and thus exerting its influence over them. The Brethren realised the risk of possible misunderstanding and even manipulation through direct involvement in one or other way if they were to be too closely connected with the Government. Bonatz already in his time declined the repeated request of the Governor to become an agent for the Thembu, as such extra employment would not serve but rather do harm to the Mission (Nielsen 1999: 124).

Even without being directly involved with the Government in one or another way, the Grant Congregations were at risk of losing the purpose for which they were originally established. Even more problematic, however, was the

³⁷³ The Mission Conference in September 1868 discussed the problematic state of the "closed congregations" and it was then decided that new endeavours should in future not be forced to establish such stations (cf. Mission Conference, 1868: 9, 12ff in Nielsen, 1999: 125).

fact that the stations became Moravian settlements where not only the Moravian way of worship and lifestyle was practised, but also many of the established practices and regulations according to the "Herrnhut yardstick" were imitated and introduced. The ministry tended to become less mission orientated and more concerned with the congregation and the local community (cf. Nielsen, 1999: 124).

In view of the dissimilarity of conditions between the Eastern and Western Districts there was a general feeling that the Grant System would prove to be unsuitable for the Eastern District.³⁷⁴ In the opinion of some missionaries, the other Churches in the region had proven themselves to have more effective methods with regard to mission and church planting. The General Synod of 1869 decided that the aim of all mission operations was to be "the gradual development of independent congregations, self-sustaining" with the ultimate aim "of independent ecclesiastical organisations taking the place of the preparatory missionary arrangements." When the Synod addressed "the limit of extension" of Mission work "in view of the existing instrumentality and pecuniary means", it emphasised that: "as far as we are concerned the Mission work is and must remain a work of faith . . . it behoves us to trust in the Lord, who alone can guide and direct us aright . . . but with the faith must be coupled sober prudence" (Nielsen, 1999: 126).

In this way, the East was set free to follow mission strategies akin to the life-experience of the people of the East by operating under the various tribes through the Chiefs and to establish mission work in the neighbourhood of their kraals.

³⁷⁴ This co-operation with the Colonial government could also result in the chiefs becoming suspicious of the motive for mission.

In the following section, the inter-relation between the two publics of mission involvement, viz. the government-controlled political environment (external environment) and the missionary-controlled mission stations (internal environment) will be investigated.

4.5.2 The public of the governor-controlled political sphere

One world of the missionaries was the world of the political sphere, with the Governor as its chief exponent, on which they were wholly dependent for mission stations, approval of their work and to whom they were held accountable for the conditions in the mission stations and in many cases, on whom they were dependent for the protection of their work. This was the external context of their work, which did not allow the Moravian mission to exist in seclusion. The Moravian missionaries were constantly challenged to appear before the Magistrate, the Governor and other government agencies. They were even asked on several occasions to act as government agents, which they had to refuse. They were often forced to take the case of the Khoi-Khoi or the inhabitants of the mission stations to the government in order to protect the people against exploitation by the colonists. This was also the reason why they decided not to relinquish their burdensome task of managing the mission stations at a time of emancipation but to carry the burden for the sake of the people. The government clearly had other motives than those of the missionaries. It was part of their policy with the mission stations. In the West, they desired a number of small settlements, where the remnants of the Khoi-Khoi could find refuge, learn industrious habits, increase their value as a source of labour and do military service in case of need out of loyalty towards their protectors. In the East, they wanted to extend the colonial influence and the European civilisation into the Bantu areas through the agency of the mission stations (Nielsen 1999: 124). The discrepancy between the motives of the Government and of the missionaries led to occasional friction (Krüger 1966: 236). Somerset was at first very dissatisfied with Groenekloof, because it did not answer to his idea of a

labour colony (Krüger 1966: 118 – 119). Bonatz refused to become a Thembu agent in the service of the Government, because he knew that he could lose the confidence of the Thembu if he accepted (Nielsen 1999: 124). The missionaries discouraged (for pastoral reasons) the recruiting of soldiers from the settlements as much as possible. The danger that the missionaries could become tools in the hands of the authorities to the detriment of their own purpose was ever present; the failure of the settlement at the Begha is an illustration of this (cf. Krüger, 1966: 234 – 237). Overall, the settlements would not have become what they were, and would not have endured and flourished for so long, were it not for the grants, the encouragement and the protection of the governors. However, the reluctance of the authorities to give either the missionaries or the inhabitants permanent possession of the grant stations, resulted in the vagueness of property rights, which caused frustration, distrust and friction.

As far as the outcome of the property rights struggle of the Grant Stations of Genadendal, Mamre and Enon was concerned, Parliament, having met on 30 June 1854, moved in the House of Assembly that the Grant Stations should be subdivided and the plots given to the inhabitants in freehold (Krüger 1966: 257). Kölbing immediately caused the people of Genadendal and Mamre to react by having petitions signed, which were sent to the Governor and to both Houses of Parliament. The petitioners referred to the instructions, which Barthhurst had given to Cradock in 1813 about the safeguarding of the mission stations, and declared that the proposed measure would be to their peril. Colonists in the course of time would purchase the plots, and their own children would lose what was now their joint property (Krüger 1966: 258). Parliament referred the matter to a commission. Amongst various suggestions from the public, Kölbing submitted a formal request to the governor that Genadendal should be granted to the Superintendent and his successors in trust, with reference to the recommendations made by Bell and Mackay in 1851. At a public meeting at

Genadendal it was decided by majority vote to petition the Government to give the mission station in trust to the Superintendent. The outcome was a resolution by the Legislative Council that the recommendations of Bell and Mackay should be carried out. The governor signed the grant on 15 February 1858, according to which Genadendal was given to the Superintendent and his successors for a nominal quitrent, with the proviso that the estate of the missionaries would remain the property of the Mission, just as Bell had proposed (Krüger 1966: 259). The Regulations were confirmed with a number of amendments, which had been agreed upon between Bell and Kölbing and in which it was expressly stated that the inhabitants could forfeit their rights of residence if a missionary or an overseer proved to the satisfaction of the magistrate that they persisted in disregarding the Regulations (Krüger 1966: 258). The Brethren had now a proper grant and recognised Regulations for Genadendal. A similar grant was issued for Mamre and in the case of Enon, a few years later. Property titles for the grant stations were in the hands of Superintendents at last (Krüger 1966: 260).

The missionaries had secured the continued existence of home villages for generations of inhabitants at the price of being burdened with their management, without having the necessary power for the purpose. This engagement of the mission with management was in effect a public manifestation of the Church on behalf of its people in collaboration with the government.

4.5.3 The public of the missionary-controlled closed settlements

The other world was the world of missionary-controlled closed settlements. The early history of the Moravian Mission at the Cape is identical with the history of the rural settlements. Their ideal was a Christian community, in which both the spiritual and the temporal affairs were under the rule of the

Saviour as symbolised by the lot.³⁷⁵ At the same time, the settlements were places of refuge for the Khoi-Khoi under threat of exploitation and the denouncement of their humanness by the colonists. However, when Ordinance 50 of 1828, which cancelled the restrictive laws of Caledon and Cradock and made the Khoi-Khoi free men with equal rights before the law (including the right to own property), was enforced the mission stations were no longer places of refuge in the formal sense of the word.

Since its inception, it was expedient for the Moravian mission to form settlements in order to teach the heathen. Dispersed people could not be taught efficiently, as Hallbeck pointed out to the Committee of the British Parliament. It was also the constant experience of the missionaries since the time of Schmidt that solid spiritual work and education could only be done in a closed settlement.³⁷⁶ It was mainly for this reason that the Brethren did not take steps to surrender the management of the settlements to the state. The HC in the West, which considered the matter in 1868,³⁷⁷ came to the conclusion that the system in which all the inhabitants were regarded as members of the spiritual fellowship, resulted in considerable hypocrisy in the case of Genadendal, and if the Mission took the initiative to get rid of its management now, favourable conditions might be obtained. On the other hand, the inhabitants would become worldlier and would lose their property rights to Whites. In any case, it would be wrong to bring serious disadvantages on the smaller settlements only in order to be relieved of the management of Genadendal. It was, therefore, preferable to endure the difficulties. They would continue to help the inhabitants to make a living

³⁷⁵ The inner-settlement political setting was likened to a Christocracy.

³⁷⁶ Hettasch wrote about his experience in Clarkson with the Fingo that "amongst those natives who live scattered . . . conversions can and do take place, beyond all doubt, but the growth of the spiritual life, the grounding in the Word and doctrine, are greatly favoured by the daily food and attention which can alone be given to those residing at the station. (personal account in 1871: 100 in Krüger, 1966: 285).

³⁷⁷ Helpers Conference 1868 – 1906, addendum, in Krüger, 1966: 286.

and to improve it through industry in agriculture and trades. The economy of the mission stations would be further improved by means of the mills, the smithies and the shops. The Regulations would be adjusted from time to time to regulate the life of the growing communities.

The purpose and the aim of the settlements were the edification of Christian congregations in obedience to the command of Christ to teach all nations (Matt. 28:19, 20). In the Missions-Ordnung of 1894, it is formulated as follows:

- a. The aim of our work is to present a living congregation, in which every single member is also a true Christian.
- b. Our mission stations, whether purchased ones or grant ones, are to be regarded as institutions, where such congregations should be created.
- c. Therefore, they are subjected to an order of life and society, founded on the word of God, the purpose of which is to educate the individual and the whole for the Lord and to preserve them with Him.³⁷⁸

Everything was subordinated to the purpose of teaching adults and children to read and to understand the Bible, to sing and to pray, and to live together as Christians. The missionaries were called teachers; the mission stations were called schools. It was the teaching, which attracted the heathen, gave offence to the colonists and could not be surrendered by the missionaries. It was "closed" in the sense that nobody who did not express the desire to be instructed was admitted as an inhabitant. Those who consistently refused to heed the instructions were advised to leave the settlements. The Regulations were intended to teach the inhabitants the habits of industry and orderliness. Civilly, the community would have its institutions, duties, rights, life and activities. In addition, every inhabitant had to be moulded into becoming a useful citizen that would respect the authorities, fellow inhabitant and live a moral Christian life.

³⁷⁸ Mission Ordnung, 1894: 5 in Krüger, 1966: 296.

The aim of the teaching was the transformation of the settlements into living congregations.³⁷⁹ The members of such congregations were united by their dependence on the Saviour. He was the living centre of their fellowship. Everything pointed to the Saviour and depended on Him. Both the spiritual life and the daily work were related to Him and were to serve Him. Thus, the people who accepted Him at the mission stations, even the children, promised repeatedly to live henceforth only for the Saviour in this world (cf. Krüger 1966: 296 – 297).

It was the aim of the closed settlements that such Christocratic communities should come about. A voluntary wholehearted association under the Saviour was aimed at. Therefore, the Brethren were eager to make fellowship with other Christians, but slow to accept people into membership, very thorough and preserving in their pastoral work, but slow to expand it; new settlements were in most cases founded only if the people concerned expressed a wish to hear the Gospel.

One can appreciate the closeness of the settlement and the accentuation of total individual dedication to the Saviour since the community had to be of one spirit in the essential aspect of their faith within the Christocracy, for they would always in a prayerful, childlike way consult the will of their invisible head, the Saviour, by means of the lot. This would explain many of their difficulties against obstinate, unscrupulous opponents inside and outside the settlements, which rendered them quite powerless. Ultimately, the purpose and aim of their work was a religious one.

³⁷⁹ The concept of living congregations goes back to Zinzendorf, who in turn had been influenced by Spener's *ecclesiolae*. For Zinzendorf the first fruits from the heathen must also be gathered into the "bundle of the living" (I Samuel 25: 29).

The settlements were suspected but tolerated by the colonists. The settlements offered opportunities to the inhabitants to be trained in responsibility and leadership in a slow but thorough manner and on a small scale. The native people only were admitted, not as a matter of principle, but because a few Europeans, who had come to live there, proved to be bad elements. Because of prevailing discrimination against the Coloured people,³⁸⁰ the settlements continued to be their reserves even after liberation. During the Boer War,³⁸¹ the political aspirations of the inhabitants awoke, which led to the end of the benevolent patriarchal rule of the missionaries at most stations.

Quite another type of criticism came from the side of the philanthropists (Krüger 1966: 299 – 300). It arose in connection with the liberation of the Khoi-Khoi and the slaves when the settlements were no longer deemed necessary as places of refuge. It was directed not against the settlements as such, but against their closeness. The ideal of the philanthropists was full and equal rights for all. Ironically, the humanitarian point of view combined in many instances with the self-interest of the colonists, and this led to the demand for the break-up of the settlements. The inhabitants, being afraid of losing their homes to the colonists, were strongly against such a measure. Whatever the merits of the philanthropic point of view might have been, in practice the conversion of the settlements into open municipalities threatened to deprive the residents of their villages. The missionaries, who were not guided by philanthropic ideals but by practical considerations and the interest of the inhabitants, also opposed the opening-up.³⁸² History has

³⁸⁰ Gradually from this point onward reference is being made to the inhabitants as Coloured people.

³⁸¹ Ironically, although it was a war fought by the Boers for their liberation from British Rule, the aborigine regarded this as a strong possibility that the British would crush the Boers and even the autocratic missionary dispensation; and that a new dispensation will come about which would secure for them better economic and social rights.

³⁸² History has proven that most of the properties of the LMS stations, which were opened up, were lost in the course of time, whilst the Moravian inhabitants continue to have theirs.

proven Krüger's (1966: 300) view that the continuance of the closed settlements was justified and proved a blessing, because the Coloured people could under the guise of the mission preserve their ownership of land in the face of a strong and spreading population of colonists, who took more and more hold of the country. In this way, the missionaries proved their advocacy role as protectors of indigenous land rights.

The main philanthropic argument against them was that the missionaries kept the inhabitants in a state of tutelage (Krüger 1966: 300 – 301). It must be conceded that they actually tended to do so. This was not according to the original plan of the Brethren. The first missionaries established a brotherly relationship under the Saviour and endeavoured to share responsibility and to encourage initiative. However, under Küster a paternalistic relationship had developed (cf. Krüger, 1966: 300). The missionaries accepted the role of protectors, which had been forced on them. Hallbeck tried in various ways to counteract this tendency, but it emerged again later on.

The purpose of promoting economic self-dependence was sometimes lost sight of. The missionaries, because they were expected to be self-supporting, claimed the local industry that came about through joint co-operation between them and the inhabitants as their own (Krüger 1966: 300). With the result that the flourishing economy made possible through the shops, the mills etc. was only considered as joint income amongst them. No wonder the inhabitants did not consider church contributions as necessary.³⁸³ It is understandable that the necessary Christian support given

³⁸³ Cf. Krüger's opinion (1966: 300) that the delay of the church contributions by the inhabitants was due to the flourishing economy is correct if one sees in the flourishing economy also the contribution of the community and not only the efforts of the missionaries. It is a pity that the community was not made an equal partner in the economic ventures. That the adherents were responsible for the upkeep of the work is a Biblical injunction that cannot be argued with.

to the poor and needy in times of famine could lead to a sense of dependency on the missionaries. But then again, the missionaries enjoyed their paternalistic positions, because in that way they could secure their pastoral authority and their value to the community. It must be stressed that there would have been no "big pot of the Mission" without the sacrificial labour of the inhabitants (cf. Krüger, 1966: 301). The missionaries tended to keep the management of the temporal and the spiritual affairs in their own hands, instead of sharing responsibilities and training people to acquire the capacity to handle responsibility. Thus, it suited the missionaries to spoil the people and to retard the development towards self-dependence. Yet, it must be stated that the efforts to revert to the original plan of self-reliant settlements were never wholly wanting. The fact that there were constant rebelling and resistance by inhabitants against the missionaries was indicative of their quest for self-reliance and partnership.

The weightiest argument against the close system is a theological one, in that it tended to isolate communities, contrary to their missionary task. Instead of being a leaven of Christianity in the population, they could become narrow islands of self-righteous people, cut off from the rest and cultivating their own piety in exclusion. Mission leaders gave this argument their full attention from 1880 onward (Krüger 1966: 301). In Zinzendorf's view, a congregation was a quiver full of arrows in the hand of the Saviour to be shot off into the darkness around it (Krüger 1966: 301). The mission stations were supposed to be such islands of hope, at least in their immediate environment. Nevertheless, outside pressure and an inclination of the missionaries towards exclusiveness and sectarianism created isolation, which was most marked under Küster. The emphasis was on keeping the inhabitants away from the temptations of the wicked world of the colonist and the bad cultural customs. Again, Hallbeck tried to overcome it by means of his Diaspora-plan and the liberation of the Khoi-Khoi and the slaves offered new opportunities for the settlements to serve the population

as a whole. Some inhabitants served as voluntary evangelists among the troops and on the farms at all times. Genadendal became fruitful through the Training school and the printing press. In general, the tendency of the missionaries to concentrate on the cultivation of piety within the radius of the institutions hampered their value for the missionary movement of the Church. It was their strength and their weakness at the same time. In as much as they reverted to the original plan of becoming centres of evangelistic activity from time to time, they became living congregations again. However, one cannot discount the influence of the closed settlements in the later development of the country as a whole as people trained and equipped in the settlements were dispersed all over the country as soldiers, teachers, artisans, labourers on the railway or in the mines or just simply as believers and who, in many respects, became the nucleus for other denominations in the towns and in the cities.

4.6 The challenges in the process of the formation of an indigenous church (1892 – 1900)

4.6.1 The impact of Synod 1869 on SA-West

As the Synod of 1869 stated clearly that it was the aim of mission work in the Moravian Mission to create autonomous churches, which could support themselves and were served by their own workers, a distinction was drawn between the Mission and its employees on the one hand, who had to decrease, and the indigenous church and its workers on the other hand, who had to increase.³⁸⁴ In order to reach this goal, the Church should refrain from clinging too tenaciously to traditional ways and from rushing too quickly into new ways. In a true African fashion, the Church had to “hurry, slowly” (cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 2)!

³⁸⁴ Compare Müller and Schulze, 1932: 652 with Minutes of the General Synod 1869: 113 – 115 for a full review and report of the decisions taken at the Synod with regard to self-supporting indigenous churches.

Whilst the work at the Cape was divided into the SA-East, which was directed to concentrate on mission work among the heathen tribes in that part of the country, and SA-West was directed to move as quickly as possible towards autonomy and self-support, this section will mainly deal with South Africa-West (SA-West). The connection with the SA-East will again be taken up in the period 1981 – 1998 (partially also in the period 1960 – 1980), the period under the apartheid regime and that of unification, Chapters 4 and 5.

SA-West was unique amongst the provinces of the Church in that the work was still being done in closed settlements with regulations and discipline. The assistant ministers and the teachers were indigenous helpers, trained at Genadendal to teach in the schools and to assist in the church work. At that stage there were 17 missionaries, 3 assistant ministers and 10 teachers serving 7,620 members.³⁸⁵ The General Synod decision regarding “self-supporting churches, ministered by their own workers”³⁸⁶ had the following impact on SAW:

i) Financial responsibility

In order to advance on the road to *financial self-sufficiency*, Superintendent Bechler, after the Unity Synod, began by introducing annual church contributions of six shillings for the men and four shillings for the women based on I Cor.9: 14. This step caused 100 members from Genadendal to submit a petition to the Governor, through a lawyer. They complained to the Governor that the Mission had a big income from local business and trade and from gifts, while they earned only between ten shillings and one pound per month. Therefore, the Mission had no right to demand contributions from its members or to punish those who did not pay them (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 4).

³⁸⁵ Cf. Diaries of the Mission Stations 1870 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 3.

³⁸⁶ Cf. Minutes of the General Synod 1869: 101, 102, 125, 126.

On the invitation of the governor, Bechler explained that a congregation had a duty to support its minister, according to the Word of God, and that the time had come for the inhabitants of the mission stations to begin making a contribution, however small to the expenses of the Mission. Besides, nobody was being taxed above his or her ability (about 100 members at Genadendal were exempted because of their poverty) (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 4). Eventually, the practice gained the acceptance of the members throughout the mission stations and the inhabitants came to understand their responsibility for and wilfully supported the work in view of financial reports and explanations of projects. Over and above the membership fees, the traditional willingness of the inhabitants to do voluntary labour was of great help to the Mission in the erection of buildings (parsonages, churches, schools, shops, etc.) and the provision of infrastructure for the communities, such as the building of roads and bridges, planting of forests, canalising the water supply and the winning of land for agriculture and gardening (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 5).

ii) Indigenous workers

The second aim, which the Synod of 1869 had set for South Africa-West, was *self-government*. Indigenous ministers should gradually take over the various responsibilities from the missionaries. Unfortunately, the HC was very slow in promoting candidates to the Mission Board in Herrnhut, where the final decision was taken. Those who were called to become assistant ministers were selected from the teachers who had been students at the Genadendal training school. Many years of experience as assistant teachers and principals in the mission schools had prepared them well for church work. They had not only taught religion daily, but also assisted the missionaries as organists, leaders of choirs and brass bands and in various other ways. Before becoming assistant ministers, they had to write an examination. As assistant ministers, they had to preach, lead other religious

gatherings and assist in the pastoral care of the congregation (cf. Krüger and Schaberg: 1984: 12).

In 1875, there were still only three assistant ministers in South Africa-West: Carl Jonas at Enon, Johannes Zwelibanzi at Wittekleibosch and Nicolaas Oppelt at Goedverwacht. All three had been among the first students of the Training School in Halbeck's time and had become school principals in due course (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 12).

In the field of church music, they became fully responsible during this period and took the lead. The rich liturgical heritage of the Moravians provided many opportunities for singing and music. They also played a leading role in the struggle against intoxicating liquor. Temperance societies were established at Elim, Mamre and Goedverwacht on their initiative (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 12).

The most important part of the work, which the South African helpers took over from the missionaries, was of course the schools. The Moravians regarded education as an important part of their ministry and controlled it. In some places, the principal was still a missionary. A good spirit of co-operation and fellowship ensued amongst the missionaries and the principals. Most of the teachers did their work very conscientiously, so that the Moravian schools one after the other climbed to the first grade, for which the government paid an annual bonus, but the salaries were the responsibility of the Mission (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 12).

The Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. Dale, visited the schools from time to time and later introduced a governmental examination for student teachers, which the first three candidates at Genadendal passed in 1878 without difficulty. Thus, the control of secular education passed gradually

to the state department, but the financial responsibility remained with the mission (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 13).

Eventually, in the beginning of 1883, the first indigenous ministers were ordained by the visiting Bishop Kühn: Johannes Nakin on 7 January at Shiloh, Carl Jonas on 28 January at Enon and Johannes Zwelibanzi on 11 February at Wittekleibosch. When Jonas was called to Pella shortly afterwards, both Pella and Wittekleibosch became main stations under full responsibility of full-time indigenous ministers (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 15)³⁸⁷.

iii) The urbanisation of the mission

The first years of the eighties were a period of economic crisis in South Africa because of droughts, epidemics and difficulties on the monetary market.³⁸⁸ Industrialisation of the country and drought in the rural areas deprived people in the rural areas of their livelihood and forced many to leave home for the towns. Many people from Mamre moved to Cape Town followed by members from Genadendal, Elim en Goedverwacht from 1880 onwards. In the Eastern Cape, people from Enon and the Tzizikamma moved to Port Elizabeth (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 16).

The missionaries around Cape Town, in the wake of reports they received from concerned relatives, became aware of the plight of their members who lived mostly in the slums amongst the Malay population and agreed that there was a pressing need for a missionary to minister to these people in Cape Town. One of the missionaries from Mamre, Philip Hickel, was called to this task in 1883 and in a short while succeeded in compiling a list of 170 members from Genadendal, 60 from Elim, 16 from Goedverwacht, 56 from Mamre and 51 from Pella. After having made use of the Gesticht Church in

³⁸⁷ Cf. Nielsen 1999: 167 on the ordination of Nakin as deacon and Hendrik Maqungo as assistant minister.

³⁸⁸ Walker, 1959: 391, 392 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 17.

Long Street for worship services, he later hired a hall in Van de Leur Street in District Six and finally bought premises in Ashley Street in District Six in 1885.³⁸⁹ He immediately moved into the house and set out to build a church. All the masons and handymen were from the mission stations. On the 25th of September 1886, the handsome building of Moravian Hill could be consecrated. The following year, on request of the members a school was added and the school principal Andreas Weber and a schoolmistress were appointed. The school opened on 1 October 1887 and soon the multiracial enrolment rose to 127 pupils with an annual grant from the government.³⁹⁰ Soon a new type of ministry grew up in the city in co-operation with the other denominations, which were at work there already, and without the burden of village management.

In 1896, the Mission had an evangelist, Moses Mtimkulu, who lived and worked among the members that moved to Port Elizabeth.³⁹¹ He, however, kept the church contributions and collections for himself after the manner of other African preachers in the Ethiopian movement. When he was dismissed as evangelist, Louis Schmidt, the son of a missionary, who was learning a trade in the town, offered to look after the Moravians in his spare time under the supervision of the missionary of Enon (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 61).

Regular meetings were continued in a private school in Glen Street and he visited members in Kraggakamma. Another member of the Mtimkulu family, Johannes, acted as his interpreter. In this manner, the members from Enon and the Tzitzikamma could be gathered into a congregation in the city. Due to a legacy from JT Morton, a rich friend of the Moravians, the first payment was set aside for the establishment of a mission in Port Elizabeth.

³⁸⁹ See August, 1980 for a fuller historical account of Moravian Hill.

³⁹⁰ Diary of Moravian Hill, June–Dec. 1887 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 22.

³⁹¹ Diary of Clarkson, 1897: 42 – 46 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 60.

Thereupon, Günther was transferred from Clarkson to Port Elizabeth, while Schmidt went to Cape Town for training as a missionary. Apart from the Kraggakamma group, he also gathered a group in Walmer and in the city he continued with the meetings in Grey Street. Johannes Mtimkulu and Josua Goliath, the latter from Clarkson, were appointed as elders. He was instructed to find premises to establish a work after the pattern of Moravian Hill. With the aid of the owner of the Grey Street school, he found and bought a suitable property with a residence in the North End, where most of the Coloured people lived. After he moved into the dwelling, all the other buildings, a church and a school were erected systematically. The station received the name Moravian Hope. The teacher, Daniel Anthony³⁹², who was appointed, assisted Günther ably and faithfully. It became the starting point for the expansion of the work in Port Elizabeth. Thus, a solid and promising beginning had been made in Port Elizabeth (Cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 61 – 62).

The Moravian Province in South Africa-West, which had started out with seven rural settlements in 1869, had by the end of the century taken its place among the Christian denominations with two fully-fledged urban congregations. The Moravians had started to address the ever-increasing process of urbanisation.³⁹³

³⁹² Anthony was even enticed by Moses Mtimkulu, who had meanwhile become an Ethiopian minister in Port Elizabeth, urging him to join his independent church together with the other Moravians in Port Elizabeth, pointing out that the African and Coloured people were no longer children who had to be looked after by European missionaries. But Anthony, who was a former student of the training School in Genadendal, declined knowing that he was no child of any European missionary.

³⁹³ At end of 2001 it would have 69 urban congregations throughout the country (Cf. Moravian Daily Watch Word 2001 for statistics).

4.6.2 An interpretation of the Buchner³⁹⁴ report of 1894³⁹⁵ in view of the mission in SA-West

Five aspects of the report are of importance:

4.6.2.1 *Property Rights*

With reference to property rights, Buchner made the legal position as clear as possible to every congregation in order to promote orderly conditions. At places like Twistwyk, Wittekleibosch and Cape Town, the Mission had no responsibility for the external order. At Mission-owned places like Elim, Wittewater and Goedverwacht the external order presented no problem. The chief missionary could regulate everything with the aid of his assistants. The connection between the spiritual and the external work had its advantages: the claim that the Christian faith must permeate our daily life could be applied in practice. He also stressed that the circumstances in SA warranted this type of settlement for the time being for the protection of the inhabitants against exploitation from outside. A separation between spiritual care and external management could be introduced in due course. But at the old Grant Stations of Genadendal, Mamre and Enon, the position was not clear. The inhabitants, on the one hand, regarded the stations as their property, the Mission, on the other hand, acted as owner. Buchner, after an interview with Sir James Rose-Innes, Minister of Native Affairs, pointed out to the inhabitants that the government was the legal owner and had appointed the Mission as trustee, and Parliament could alter the existing

³⁹⁴ Buchner, Charles became the leader of the Moravian Mission Board in 1899. His main achievement was that he led the Moravian Mission out of its isolation into the fellowship of the broad missionary movement in Germany. Germany at the time was following the other colonial powers in extending its influence into Africa, which presented new missionary opportunities. Together with the leaders of the other missionary societies, he represented and promoted the interest of the Mission in the colonial era (Bechler in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 33). He visited the Mission Field of SA in 1892 – 93 for eight months to acquaint himself personally with the work on the occasion of the celebration of the 150 years of Mission in SA (1738 – 1892; actually it was more the centenary celebration of Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel 1792 – 1892).

³⁹⁵ Buchner Report, 1894 (For an extensive review of the Buchner Report cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 41 – 52).

conditions any time. He also suggested that the Overseers³⁹⁶ should actually manage the external affairs of the Grant Stations rather than the missionaries; and that the regulations were antiquated and needed to be revised. However, any alterations to the regulations at the time required the approval of Parliament, which due to its unfriendly disposition towards the Coloured settlements could use the opportunity to declare the stations open. Therefore, as a start, it would be best to separate the ecclesiastical and the civic management at these stations (Buchner 1894: 91, 132 – 137).

4.6.2.2 *The finances*

For the establishment of an autonomous national church the payment of regular contributions was of paramount importance. Buchner explained to every congregation that it should be regarded in the first place as for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God and not in the narrow sense of the missionary's salary. He further confirmed that members who were in arrears for more than two years should lose their rights in the Church and that their names should be publicly announced.

In order to make the mission work self-supporting, he suggested the appointment of professional businessmen to manage the mission stores and other businesses.³⁹⁷ On the other hand, it served the purpose of protecting the inhabitants from outside exploitation and the missionaries could demonstrate to them the Christian virtues of industry and diligence. Therefore, this part of the work had to be continued; it was firmly based on Christian principles, and the small Moravian Church could not in any way meet its worldwide missionary obligations without the income from that source (Buchner 1894: 155 – 159).

³⁹⁶ The village council elected by and from amongst the inhabitants for the secular control of the settlement.

³⁹⁷ Samuel Will, who united all the business undertakings into the SAW Handel, did this in 1902. Thus the businesses and the pastoral activities were at last separated.

4.6.2.3 *The Constitution*

Buchner submitted a mission order for the whole Province, which was mainly a recast of rules of the Province that had been formulated from time to time and had been supplemented by resolutions of the General Mission Conferences since 1862 (Buchner 1894: 132 – 137).

It was paternalistic on the provincial and the congregational level. The highest body was the Helpers Conference, which consisted of the Superintendent and two missionaries, who were nominated by the Mission Board at Herrnhut and had to give account to it. The General Mission Conference in the Province, which met every few years, had only an advisory function. Similarly, the chief missionary together with the local Missionary Conference bore the responsibility in every congregation. They nominated a number of male and female churchwardens, who met from time to time in an advisory capacity. The management of the communal life was different: a conference, consisting of the missionaries, the churchwardens and elected overseers, was the highest body and had to be held at least once a month. A financial report had to be submitted to it annually (cf. Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 45).

With regard to civic life, every mission station had regulations, which were binding on the inhabitants. Whoever refused to accept them or continue to disobey them was expelled. The admission to the civil community was a solemn occasion. Children who reached a certain age and newcomers were thoroughly instructed in the regulations and civic responsibilities; and afterwards admitted to the civil community in a public worship service by handshake on reciting the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Every candidate had to sign the local regulations.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Elim mission station as (property of the Church) still has this practice of admitting children of 13/14 years to the community as citizens. In the formal citizen classes which preceded the admission, the children are taught their responsibilities as citizens of the mission station with regard to life in the

It was still considered a great privilege to become a member of the community settlement.

The education and discipline of the children (from baptism to Confirmation) received great attention on the Mission stations. School attendance on the Mission Station was compulsory, until the age of 16 years or on completion of the highest standard in school (usually standard 5 or 6). Public examinations, parents meetings and special sermons for children (later Sunday school) were held (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 46).

4.6.2.4 The SA-Fellow Workers

Buchner (in Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 46 – 48) stressed the fact that besides the financial contributions and a good order, responsible South African indigenous workers were necessary for the establishment of an autonomous church.

The Training School at Genadendal rendered outstanding education under TS Renkewitz since 1882. The same system was followed as in the Moravian Boarding schools in Germany. Of special interest was the curriculum that included physical exercise, music, work in the garden and the printing works. Apprentices were trained and in 1894, Theophilus Haas was appointed as the first full-time printer. Christian literature for all mission stations was published. The printing works became self-supporting and even produced more surplus income (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 47).

English was introduced as the medium of communication and it was required to be spoken throughout the day. The government raised the standard for the examinations in 1884 and added more subjects. Consequently, the length of the training was extended from three years to

community, behaviour, the flora and fauna in the natural environment etc., in short their responsibilities and rights as inhabitants.

six years. A theological course of two years was added for those who wanted to prepare themselves for the ministry (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 47).

The first theological course began on 1 November 1887 with Ernst Stefanus Dietrich (Goedverwacht) and Josua Jonker (Elim), a teacher at Genadendal, who attended part-time. They were later joined by Eduard Weber (Mamre). About that time, the Training School celebrated its 50th anniversary. 125 students had entered it since its inception, and 69 had become teachers at mission schools throughout the country. After the completion of the first course, Renkewitz kept Weber³⁹⁹ back at the college as an assistant teacher of the Training School. In 1893, he was succeeded by Ernst Dietrich, who remained the assistant teacher for 18 years (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 47 – 48).

In Buchner's opinion, it was about time that full-time indigenous ministers should be trained to replace the missionaries. However, the HC clung to the traditional training of teachers, who might, in addition become ministers later. It was advantageous because the government paid subsidies for the schools, which rendered the appointment of indigenous ministers without additional expenses for the Mission. Regrettably, the process of indigenous take-over was retarded. On the other hand, the calibre of teachers and ministers that were produced for the indigenous society and the church in particular was of high quality at the time (Krüger and Schaberg 1984:48).

4.6.2.5 *Ecumenical Relations*

Buchner, who led the Moravian Mission in Germany into fellowship with the other mission societies, also investigated the possibilities in South Africa

³⁹⁹ Weber was a gifted musician. He played the organ at the Cathedral of Cape Town on one occasion and composed a symphony, which was performed in Herrnhut in support of Genadendal (Genadendal Diary in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 48).

in this respect. He found that the time when the majority of the Coloured people belonged to the Moravian or to the London Missionary Society was long past. According to the census of 1891, the Anglicans and the Dutch Reformed Churches, which could both claim to be national churches at the Cape, had by far the most Coloured members, the DRC in the rural and the Anglicans in the towns.⁴⁰⁰ The Congregationalists and the Methodists had gathered most of the members of the LMS into their folds. It is interesting to note, however, that these four confessional groups had large established congregations among the whites in the country, which might have played a role in drawing their workers to their churches (most probably in the case of the DRC), especially in the rural areas where the farmers could later even determine for whom their workers were going to vote. On the other hand, there were also the political conditions that influenced the Coloured people to rather join the English churches.⁴⁰¹

Buchner even considered whether the Moravian mission should hand over its congregations to the DRC, because the same language was spoken in both, viz. Afrikaans. But in his view the DRC did not have the right attitude to people of colour. He also had nowhere found any desire or need for such a step. It was again realised that the Moravian Church had, in fact, a distinctive role to play in the Christian community at the Cape. Buchner was especially glad that the Moravians were not guilty of the terrible competition whereby churches were actually busy coaxing members away from each other. To him human and financial resources were wasted in this way and the variety of traditions just created confusion among the people. He was glad that the Moravians conscientiously respected the sphere of

⁴⁰⁰ The DRC: 38 242 (rural), 25 332 (Urban); Angl.: 17 392 (rural), 28 750 (urban); Moravian: 9 955 (rural), 1303 (urban) in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 129.

⁴⁰¹ This reaction was already recorded with regard to the protests at Mamre and at Elim. At Mamre certain people even asked the governor to send an English minister to them and at Elim a woman said that the Queen would repatriate the German missionaries.

influence of the other churches. Buchner advised them not to accept members from other denominations without a certificate of transfer, and to seek fraternal co-operation. Buchner also took up the baton of co-operation between the mission societies that existed amongst the Berlin-Lutheran, Rhenish, Dutch Reformed and the Moravian missionaries since 1860 (Buchner 1894: 131, 132, 161 – 166). In 1896, an association of Congregational, DRC, Berlin Mission and Moravian school managers was established (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 52).⁴⁰²

In 1899, the General Missionary Conference in the Cape was formally constituted with the aim of promoting mission work in SA. Part of their joint ventures were the circulation of the “Bode” printed at Genadendal amongst all the member societies on a monthly basis until the DRC began to produce its own paper in 1905. The Moravian Textbook and the Training School provided further links amongst them. Together they could approach the government about education and they jointly considered methods of proclaiming the Gospel and of fighting social evils (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 51).

Thus, Buchner’s report and policy portrayed an urgent desire to propel the indigenous church into becoming autonomous, but in certain respects, for reasons not always very credible, the local missionaries retarded the process. He reorganised the financial dispensation in order to attain financial independence for the work. The re-organising of order and discipline by informing the inhabitants of their rights and responsibilities on the basis of the new constitution sought to restore their trust and rouse the congregations to take up mutual responsibility in the civil as well as the spiritual life within the church communities. The Moravian mission was challenged anew by the policy of fraternal co-operation amongst the different churches to live up to what was characteristic of the Moravian

⁴⁰² Cf. Adonis for a discussion on the deliberations of that conference.

tradition at all times. Yet, he was sensitive enough to realise that his emphasis on the creation of a national Coloured church was, to say the least, controversial with the natural development of SA-West and was not met with favour within the Province at all, because of the people's political aspirations and dignity.

4.6.3 The general synod of 1899 and its effect on South Africa-West

Under the influence of Buchner, the policy statement regarding arrangements for mission administration was changed. Synod emphasised self-reliance, which required of the mission field that:

- a. It should aim to bring about self-administration and self-supporting churches;
- b. It should train indigenous workers;
- c. It should facilitate the participation of the congregations in the management of their affairs;
- d. The congregations should assist in carrying the financial burden of the work by means of contributions and collections;
- e. That full autonomy could only be reached after a transitional period, in which expatriate and indigenous workers would work under somewhat different conditions in respect of the furlough, children's education and the pensions of the, which would remain the responsibility of the Mission Board.

It is quite clear that these principles came about, as far as the total Moravian European represented Synod was concerned, mainly due to the pressing financial needs of the ever-expanding work. One should not, however, rule out the role that the constant pressure from the inhabitants about property rights and the assets that they helped to establish played. The work was no longer an effort to reap only "first fruits" as Zinzendorf had imagined. It had grown into a church of 11,000 members in SA-West alone with assets

and commercial enterprises.⁴⁰³ Therefore, it warranted even much more drastic steps in that Synod considered making the oldest mission fields autonomous as quickly as possible. The consequences for SA-West were that:

- a. Synod even expressed the expectation that SA-West would become completely self-supporting and self-administering by 1909, the date for the next general Synod;
- b. In order to expedite the supply of indigenous ministers it was decided that the superintendents in the more advanced mission fields should become bishops in order not to delay the ordination of indigenous ministers. In consequence, both Hennig and Van Calker were consecrated bishops for SA-West and –East respectively;
- c. SA-West should cease to receive financial support from the Mission Board at once, apart from the fringe benefits of the missionaries (see above). Everything else, including the salaries of the many European workers, should be financed from income generated within the mission field at the Cape (SA-West).⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰³ Census, 1894: 129 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 50. The SA East had 4.371 members in 1892 (Cf. Nielsen, 1999: 189).

⁴⁰⁴ From a Mission financial statement of 1899 (Cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 65) it appears that the total income amounted to (in British pounds) 5.871, which covered all the expenses, leaving a surplus of 809 pounds. The impression could be conveyed that because the contribution of the members amounts to “only a small part” (816 pounds, which represents 13% of the budget) that the missionaries carried the major brunt of the budget (Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 65). But it must also be recognised that the shops enjoyed the monopoly in the stations and were fully supported by the inhabitants: income 4 150 pounds. Then again, the major contributing factor to the success of the agricultural income was due to the cheap labour of the inhabitants: income 288 pounds. All these shops were built with the aid and labour of the inhabitants for “their mission”. The wheat fields were laid on and cultivated by the inhabitants with the same motive in mind. The fact that “the members had no part at all in the management of the work” was not because they were unwilling but because they were kept from being trained and equipped. The missionaries to a great extent contributed to the unholy dichotomy between what was mission owned and what belonged to the common (communal property); which in the view of the researcher was the cause of the continuous suspicion on the part of the inhabitants about the property rights and the boundaries. It would be good to

Hennig, the new Director of Mission, was of the opinion that the financial policy of Buchner with its successful business enterprise outcome made the autonomy of SA-West too dependent on the mission business enterprise and was not adequate for the new requirements of an autonomous province. The Buchner policy resulted in the shortcoming that the members' financial contributions made up a small part of the budget and that they had no part at all in the management of the work.

In order to rectify these, Hennig drafted a new constitution for the Province, which the mission Conference of 1900 accepted with a few alterations. It was the first step towards self-determination. This first church order of the Moravian Church in SA-West decreed that the congregations could elect their own church councils and could even elect representatives to the biennial general conference,⁴⁰⁵ depending on their contributions to the annual budget.⁴⁰⁶ It was also laid down that all the ministers, not only the missionaries from Europe, should participate fully at the conferences, and that all should elect the members of the Helpers Conference (excepting only the Superintendent) from among them.⁴⁰⁷

remember at this juncture the reaction of Africo already in the time of Georg Schmidt, when he expressed the fear that Schmidt was going to sell the property on his return and pocket the money on which he (Africo) had spent such a lot of energy in building it up (*Dagboek en Briewe van G Schmidt*, 1981:209). Therefore development should not take place with the people as the object of mission but as the subject: it should be people-centred integrated development.

⁴⁰⁵ The General Mission Conference was a consultative body, which met in close session about every two years in Genadendal. Up till 1900 it only consisted of all the missionaries. The indigenous ministers were allowed only occasionally as observers.

⁴⁰⁶ A congregation which contributed half of the salary of its minister would be given the right to elect its own church council; and a congregation which raised the full amount would even have the right to send elected delegates to the General mission Conference (Appendix to the General Mission Conference, 1900: 10 – 17 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 66). In this way the congregations were motivated to endeavour to raise the salaries of their ministers for which they would receive more rights in return. Thus the principle of no rights without responsibility was entrenched.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Appendix to the General Mission Conference, 1900: 18 – 37 in Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 66 – 67.

Although, due to the Anglo-Boer War, the constitution was not put into effect for many years, a mind shift was affected and it became evident that Hennig realised that:

- a. the congregations at the Cape had the duty and the ability to alleviate the financial burden of the Board;
- b. the structure of the work was deficient in respect of the fact that the congregations had no part in the management of their affairs (the elected overseers were just policemen to assist the missionary in the keeping of order, and the church wardens were simply nominated by the missionary, met with the missionary only once a year and scarcely dared speak on that occasion);
- c. the considerable number of missionaries at some stations was a hindrance to progress in the direction of the empowerment of the indigenous members and at places where only one missionary was stationed, it was much more evident that responsible co-operation of the members was needed;
- d. the neglect or exploitation of the creative abilities and the suppressed urge of the members for a share in management were the causes of rebellious behaviour in the past and could lead to future disunity.⁴⁰⁸

4.7 Summary

Having evaluated the founding, the establishment and the mission strategy of the closed settlements of the Moravian missionary movement at the Cape, their political and social impact on the public life at the Cape, the final phase in the development of mission, is identified as the process of the formation of an indigenous church and the challenges that the Moravian Mission was confronted with. The aspects of publicness will be brought to bear in this investigation: Church and government, Church and the market powers, Church and the judiciary, Church and the empowerment of the people, the Christians and their role in society — the voluntary movement as far as it is applicable.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Appendix to General Mission Conference, 1900: 10 – 17 in Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 66 – 67.

CHAPTER 5

THE CHALLENGES IN THE PROCESS OF THE FORMATION OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH: THE MISSION FIELD AND ITS QUEST FOR AUTONOMY (1900 – 1960)

5.1 Introduction

The next sixty years were crucial for the quest of an autonomous church in SA-West. This period was characterised by the striving for a self-supporting church as a province of the worldwide *Unitas Fratrum*, first “in transition” and then equal to all other Unity Provinces. The Church found itself within the interacting internal and external political environment ranging from the Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902), which changed into prolonged guerrilla warfare until 1902; the political conscientisation and aspirations of the Coloured and Bantu people; the Unification of the country in 1910; two world wars; the coming into power of the National Party in 1948; the birth of the South African Republic in 1960 and the implementation of grand apartheid. Throughout this time, it was regarded as a church under the auspices of an alien entity, albeit ecclesiastical.

The publicness of the indigenous Church during this period will be analysed in relation to the world-wide Moravian Church; the political aspirations of the inhabitants of the mission stations and the ways in which the missionaries responded; and the exertion of the indigenous Church to take responsibility in their aspiration for an autonomous church in full partnership with the world-wide Moravian Church. Other aspects of publicness that will be brought to bear on the Church are: the Church and government; the Church and market powers; the Church and the judiciary; and the empowerment of the members for public witness..

5.2 SA-West: from the Anglo-Boer war to WW I

During the Anglo-Boer War, many Coloureds and Blacks fought on the side of the British. This is a reflection of the fact, in the case of the Coloureds in the Cape at least, that they had the right to vote for Parliament under British rule (every citizen who had an income of 75 pounds or more and could write was regarded as civilised and could vote).

In the Boer republics, on the other hand, only Whites had the vote, while Blacks had to carry passes and were subjected to other discriminating practices. It is also necessary to point out that Paul Kruger had the support of the German Kaiser during the war (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 69).

In some mission stations, missionaries made their sympathy with the Boers in their resistance to British imperialism public. The Coloured inhabitants, on the other hand, engaged themselves passionately on the British side. The progressive slogan of equal rights for all civilised people inspired them with hope for a better future. Whilst the community leaders, especially the teachers, were actively demonstrating in public their loyalty to the Queen and recruiting men for the war,⁴⁰⁹ missionaries persuaded the people to remain neutral and some even tried to stop people from enrolling. In Mamre, the missionary on two occasions even cancelled the celebration of Holy Communion and used his sermon on Pentecost to call the people to order, because the people celebrated the British victory of Mafeking by dancing and singing in the streets. The reason for the missionary, Kunick's, reaction against the joyful behaviour of the people was that he believed that the majority of Mamre's inhabitants regarded them as supporters of the Afrikaner Bond. In Elim, Martha Jantjes and two young women had to appear in front of the magistrate in Bredasdorp and faced a fine or imprisonment because of their refusal to repent for instigating people to riotous demonstrations of flag waving, not greeting farmers and jeering at them when they came to the shop and for instigating people to boycott the "Bond church and schools"⁴¹⁰ and working on the farms (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 69 – 70).⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ In Elim, RD Rasmus and Martha Jantjes; in Wittewater, F Adams, whose house the missionary *Schütz* called "a nest of spies", because of his informer activities on behalf of the British; in Mamre, it was M Heathly.

⁴¹⁰ 'Bond' probably means *Afrikanerbond*, intimating that the missionaries were hand in glove with the Boers.

⁴¹¹ This episode reached the newspapers with the caption: Where is the government? Startling affairs in Elim. Persecuted for the crime of loyalty! British subjects under Queen or Kaiser? (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 73).

In Genadendal, at the Training School, three pupils were dismissed because the missionary denied them the right to enrol for the war, which caused them to rebel. Some inhabitants even reported the missionaries to the government, after which some were investigated (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 70).

The Enon episode, between the leader Petrus Sampson and the missionary Rauh, was the most prominent in the process of self-realisation against the suppression of political ideals. Petrus and his followers disliked Rauh's autocratic leadership style. When commandos of Boers appeared in the Colony to the North of Enon, Petrus and his followers accused the missionaries of supporting the Boers in the neighbourhood. It resulted in the missionaries being arrested on suspicion of high treason.⁴¹² In the court, Rauh was accused of having advised the inhabitants to put their British flags away and to put no obstacles in the way of the approaching commandos of the Boers. Chleboun, the other missionary, had been accused of selling ammunition from the mission store to the Boers. However, they were both acquitted after Frederik Balie, the teacher, with twenty men from Enon appeared for the defence and explained that Rauch only advised them to stay out of the war for it was not their war. In Chleboun's case, they explained that ammunition was always sold at the mission store for purposes of hunting (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 75 – 76).

The impact of this period of the Anglo-Boer War on the Moravian mission stations is of critical importance. It caused much tension and division between the political and budding national aspirations of the inhabitants on the one hand, and the view of the missionaries of the non-involvement of the Church in a time of war on the other. Hennig noted that ministers, who combined spiritual and worldly authority, were tempted to fight difficulties in the worldly management with spiritual means and regarded opposition in communal (civic) matters as opposition against themselves as servants of God. It is to be regretted that they could not differentiate between temporal and spiritual matters. But then again, was it ever easy in the Church's history for the state church or national church

⁴¹² The matter caused a countrywide sensation. The newspapers reported: "Two German missionaries arrested. Charged with high treason. Sensational evidence forthcoming."

to do that? Were the missionaries really impartial and quietist? Could it be possible that the missionaries, due to the countrywide suspicion against them by their adherents, did identify with the Boers because, as German nationalists (who were called the "Kaiser Reich" interest during the Elim episode), they were fundamentally in competition with British imperialism? On the other hand, suspicion was aroused in connection with the mission station property and the delay in getting the Mission stations Act passed, because it may have been a British plot to instigate the mission station people against the German missionaries in order to get their co-operation in the war. The Coloured people sided with the British because they hoped for equal rights for all under British rule and because they feared new oppression if the Boers should win.

In Mamre, Heathly and his friends, founders of the Coloured Political Association of Mamre in 1900, wanted to expel the Moravian Mission and replace it with the Anglican Church. It was the first political organisation of Coloured people, a predecessor of the countrywide African People's Organisation (APO), which was founded two years later in Cape Town (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 74).

The African Peoples Organisation (APO) founded by Dr. Abdullh Abdurahman in 1902 fought for the extension of the franchise to people in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.⁴¹³ Inhabitants of the mission stations were enthusiastic members of APO whose official organ, the APO newspaper, was widely read in the mission stations and kept the people politically informed. Abdurahman would, on occasion, attack the missionaries in the Grant stations, who in his opinion enriched themselves instead of promoting the advancement of the inhabitants (Krüger 1984: 80 – 81). When the Union of SA under one parliament was proclaimed in 1910⁴¹⁴ and it became evident that the Coloureds

⁴¹³ CF. Thompson 1995: 174 – 175; Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 80; Cameron: 1986: 221.

⁴¹⁴ The Union of SA brought colonies together and united the Whites, but the British colonial powers deliberately excluded the Blacks and Coloureds who fought on the British side; and therefore failed to unite all the people of the country (Nielson, 1999: 248). It served their purpose to exclude the indigenous people, but because of that they have to take part of the blame for the subsequent dehumanised development in South Africa.

would not be allowed to become members of that body. They were bitterly disappointed and the APO mouthpiece spoke of a political death sentence for the Coloureds. In the light of Abdurahman's critique of the missionaries it could be argued that for the majority of missionaries, who came themselves from the economic class of the workers in Germany, it was the mission station set-up that rendered the opportunity to live as feudal lords. What is more, given the social setting of the neighbouring farmers with whom they as fellow Europeans had good social intercourse at that juncture, the temptation to act out their "baasskap" over their "volk" in the mission station would have been difficult to resist.⁴¹⁵

In view of the Coloured disappointment and dissatisfaction regarding the national political arrangement, which totally excluded the indigenous people from political power, superintendent Wolter felt that the administration of the Grant Stations should be handed over to the inhabitants (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 81). The Government in 1902 produced a Mission Land Bill, but the submission to Parliament had been delayed. Wolter, together with Van Calker from SA-East, went to the Secretary for Native Affairs time and time again, stressing the urgency of the matter. It was only at the end of 1909, during the last session of the Cape Parliament before Union, that the Mission Station and the Communal Reserve Act was passed through the efforts of John X Merriman, who was Prime Minister at the time (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 81).

The Mission Station Act stipulated that the consent of the Mission should be obtained and the inhabitants consulted at every Grant Station. After that, a Board of Management

⁴¹⁵ "Baas" was the title of address preferred by farmers, who referred to their workers as their "volk" to denote in a derogatory way their worker status. An individual worker would be referred to as "jong" or "meid." This was not restricted to the rural areas. Could it be a perpetuation and transplant of the feudal system of eighteenth century Europe to SA? Thus, it is doubtful whether this way of regarding the indigenous people did not border on the degradation of them to sub-species not really human. It is noted that Georg Schmidt referred to the first group that agreed to gather with him as my "volk", and how he, in the accepted style of the farmers, would even sometimes give them hidings. Surely it is not surprising on the farms, but the domain of the Church should reflect the values of the Gospel whatever the reigning social conditions; it shows how he was indirectly influenced by the prevailing social conditions.

under a Government official, and consisting of elected and nominated representatives, should administer the settlement, while the Mission would become the freehold owner of the mission glebes. The Act met with much opposition and resistance in all the Grant Stations, because the Mission became the owner of part of the land and because the inhabitants would have to pay more taxes. The inhabitants of Mamre, Genadendal and Enon reacted with petitions, demonstrations and court cases in which the Mission was sued. At one meeting with the Assistant Secretary of Native Affairs at Genadendal, the inhabitants demanded a management board of Coloureds, not under a Government nominated chairperson, to which the Mission would be subjected like everyone else, and that there should be no division of the land between missionaries and inhabitants. This caused tension and suspicion, which was very harmful to the spiritual life. No wonder that Wolter complained in a letter that, due to the court cases, the Mission Land Bill, the debacle of SAW Handel⁴¹⁶ and the rebellions in the Grant Stations, he did not deem it fit to progress towards an autonomous church. Subsequently, he decided to shelve plans for a new church order in 1905 (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 83).

Against this background, the General Synod of 1909 in Herrnhut, influenced by Hennig, strongly emphasised as a priority the growth towards autonomy of the older mission fields. Of special importance was the decision that a church conference with elected representatives had to be created for the indigenous Church.

In order to affect the decisions of Synod, the Mission Board instructed the Provincial Conference at Genadendal to revise the 1901 draft constitution along the line of the latest mission policy. In 1911, they sent out Kluge, a board member, to have this draft thoroughly discussed at a General Mission Conference at Genadendal. This brought the

⁴¹⁶ This company (SA West Trade) consisting of a number of shops and other business undertakings, which had become a separate body under an inspector in 1902, according to Buchner's idea, was expected to contribute 3000 pounds annually to the account of SA-West, but was unable to contribute from 1908 onwards as it accumulated a big debt. This affected the reduction of 8 European missionaries from 23 to 15 in the period 1904 – 1913 (cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 89).

Mission to the threshold of a new era. The missionaries agreed to the aim of an autonomous Moravian Church in South Africa (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 91).

The Moravian General Mission Conference of 1913 had as main agenda point the final discussion of the new constitution. All three the indigenous ministers (J Jonker, FJ Balie and ES Dietrich) participated in the conference and took an active and critical part in the proceeding throughout. Dietrich, for instance, protested against the exclusion of indigenous ministers from certain sessions in which the finances of the mission, the salaries of missionaries and similar matters were discussed. He also spoke on matters pertaining to the ministry, for instance the training and ordination of the indigenous ministers that had to be increased and expedited after it had been retarded for so long. He submitted various proposals with regard to church work (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 92). The final approval of the new constitution was to be given by the General Synod in 1914. However, the introduction was unfortunately delayed by WW I.

The reaction of the Coloured people, including the inhabitants of the mission stations, awoke to a new consciousness of their human rights during the war. This led to clashes between them and some of the missionaries, who still ruled in the old patriarchal manner at some places. The teachers, in a remarkable way, although politically siding with those fighting and hoping for equal rights, nevertheless remained loyal to what they came to appreciate and identified with as their own in the Moravian Church. They saw their leadership responsibility towards the Church and therefore remained loyal to the missionaries as the officials of the Church, although not sharing their political persuasions and the autocratic leadership styles of some. The aspirations of the people for full political rights were not fulfilled, but the development of a self-governing, fully responsible church received a strong impulse. It surfaced that Wolter and the SA-West missionaries somehow stifled the progress towards autonomy of the indigenous Church and that they were in a very indirect way persuaded by the General Synod and the Mission Board to accept the principle and work towards it (Cf. Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 92).

The publicness of the Church depends also on its ecumenical manifestations, for its ecumenical configuration helps it to act effectively in society with regard to social and moral conditions and in relation to politics. During this time, the ecumenical commitment of the Moravians in South Africa underwent a change. The General Missionary Conference, in which the missionaries of the DRC and the German societies in the Western Cape had met biannually since 1899, ended in 1908 (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 90). However, a countrywide General Missionary Conference, which included the English-speaking churches, had meanwhile been established in 1904 in Johannesburg, 26 mission societies being represented, including the Moravians. It met biannually and was the forerunner of the Christian Council of South Africa. At the same time, the German mission societies working in SA, the Rhenish, Berlin, Hermannsburg and Moravian societies, had agreed in Germany to establish a special working relationship. From 1905, conferences were held biannually in SA, and even the possibility of a merger was discussed. The superintendents had intensive personal contact, facing the difficult problems, which confronted them together (Nielsen 1999: 233).

Given the political world scene of imperial expansionism and the ecumenical mobilisation and consolidation of the German (mission) interest, the Moravian missionaries in SA as German nationalists could have been influenced and conditioned in a manner⁴¹⁷ that at times might not have been advantageous to the interest of the indigenous people (church). One would however want to believe that their co-operation as German missionaries rather served to strengthen the mission work in order to advance the work of the kingdom of God.

The outbreak of WW I brought the stark reality of nationalism to the fore, which like an invisible barrier separated and destroyed the people of the world. The gathering of the worldwide Moravian Unity met on the eve of the war from May to June 1914 in Herrnhut, Germany. No special resolution with regard to the mission province of SA-West was passed. In very vague terms it was stated, "General Synod considers it its

⁴¹⁷ The much lamented favourable disposition of certain missionaries towards the Boer cause by the inhabitants of the mission stations.

foremost duty . . . to work for the advancement and extension of our mission work on the new and older mission fields.” Surprisingly, the mood of Synod seemed to have totally changed since the previous one when Wolter was not present,⁴¹⁸ although it was resolved that the general retrenchment of missionaries and the further extension of responsibilities to indigenous workers should not be lost sight of.⁴¹⁹ Can it be deduced from this that the SA-West missionaries under Wolter’s influence as superintendent were not favourably disposed towards SA-West’s autonomy? If this was the case, one wonders why? What influence did Wolter exercise at the 1914 Synod that resulted in Synod not following up on its 1909 decisions and 1911 initiative in connection with SA-West’s autonomy? Suffice it to deduce that he succeeded in retarding the quest of the SA-West for autonomy.

WW I caused many problems for the administration of the Church. The mission field was cut off from its base in Herrnhut, official correspondence ceased and financial aid dried up. Decisions were the superintendent’s own responsibility or had to be postponed to an uncertain future.

The Government appointed a “Commissioner of Enemy Subjects.” He had to be approached for travel and change of residence permits. The meetings of the governing board, the Provincial Conference, could no longer be held.⁴²⁰ Many missionaries of German descent were sent to internment camps. Marx and Van Calker drew the attention of the authorities to the fact that the Moravian Mission was an international body and that those working in the Mission were 20 Britons, 18 Germans, 3 Swiss and 1 Dutch person.

⁴¹⁸This time (1914) Wolter was present as one of the three representatives from the mission-fields. With regard to 1909, Kruger and Schaberg (1984: 91) state that “Wolter did not feel happy” about the fact that Van Calker was the only Moravian representative from SA (Bishop of SA-East) to represent both provinces at General Synod in 1909; which, influenced by Hennig, issued new guidelines for the development of the older mission fields; and after which Kluge (1911) made an official visit to SA that changed the minds of the missionaries in favour of autonomy for SA-West.

⁴¹⁹ General Synod, 1914, par. 51, 4.

⁴²⁰ According to Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 96) the last minutes was dated 25 September 1915. They began again in 1918.

They further submitted the original letters written by Lord Charles Somerset inviting the Moravians to come to the border area. Subsequently, nobody from SA-West was sent into concentration camps, but two missionaries were instructed to move inland away from the coast. The government, on the other hand, vested every Moravian property and the business company in 1917 in the "custodian of enemy property", but fortunately, the administration remained in Moravian hands. Many hundreds of men from all mission stations and urban congregations became soldiers and worked in military installations. They served in places as far apart as Europe, Palestine and Egypt. Consequently, their experience and self-consciousness grew, but also their willingness to help in church and social matters (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 97).

The end of the war in 1918 brought new challenges as the Peace Treaty of Versailles, signed on 26 June 1919, in paragraph 438 decreed that "mission property . . . shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes . . . The Allied Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed or approved by the Governments"; "The Allied...Governments, while continuing to maintain full control of the individuals by whom the missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such missions"; "Germany . . . waives all claims on their behalf."

The SA Government decreed by proclamation No.7 of 14 January 1920 that: "The immovable property of German missions . . . be transferred . . . to Boards of Trustees . . . all other assets of such missions now in the hands of the Custodian shall be returned to the mission concerned."⁴²¹ With the aid of Krige,⁴²² the speaker of Parliament, the Government appointed him, Judge Van Zijl of the Cape Supreme Court and Bishop Marx as trustees. This meant that Marx could act as superintendent almost as freely as before.

⁴²¹ The Government Gazette extraordinary, 14.1.1920 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 99.

⁴²² In these Germans descendants that integrated into the Afrikaner society, the missionaries found loyal champions for the cause of the Mission. Krige, in an earlier exercise just after the war, helped the Mission to waive the claim of 59 000 pounds by the Custodian of Enemy Property with respect to the administration during the War, which was the cash value of all the property and the businesses (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 98).

5.3 SA-West and the founding of “Die Broederkerk”: from the post-WW I Unity Synod 1919 to the post -WW II Unity Synod 1946

The international character of the *Unitas Fratrum* as a fellowship of believers was demonstrated when as early as 1919 the representatives met at Zeist in the Netherlands – the Moravian answer to the cleavages of war (Hamilton, 1967: 334).⁴²³ It was agreed that the division of the mission fields amongst the four home provinces, viz. the Continental, the British and the Southern and Northern Provinces of the USA, as necessitated by the war, would continue. The British Board assumed the administration of South Africa, which was to be returned to the Mission Board in Herrnhut as soon as political circumstances would permit. The International Mission Board was abolished, which left some with great apprehension lest it may bring about the end of the Moravian Unity. Even though the constitutional bonds were loosened, the oneness of the Church remained strong till today, independent mission activity developed in the various provinces, the Unity was renewed by regular General Synods, called Unity Synods since 1957 and by continual “koinonial”⁴²⁴ communication (Hamilton, 1967: 334 – 338).

In 1924, General Hertzog and his National Party succeeded General Smuts and his South African Party in the election of 1924 (Hintrager, 1952: 444). Hertzog dissolved the Board of Trustees after the superintendents of the three German missions, the Rhenish, Berlin and Moravian Societies, had requested the minister of Interior, DF Malan, in an interview to do so.⁴²⁵ Once again, the Mission was free from all the restrictions that WW I and the Peace Treaty of Versailles had brought about.

Constitutional development since the *Unitas Fratrum* had suggested a constitution for SA-West in 1848. It came into fruition when, between 1920 and 1922, the draft-

⁴²³ Hamilton (1967: 334) states with humble pride “this was perhaps the very first meeting between any Protestant leaders from the nations formerly at war.”

⁴²⁴ This concept is taken from the Greek, *koinonia*, which means fellowship and is being used as one of the manifestations of the Church, meaning Christian fellowship across divides or barriers. This concept is preferred to fraternal or brotherly, as we tend to use more inclusive language today.

⁴²⁵ Reports 1924: 6 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 103.

constitution was introduced and accepted in all congregations. The constitution was accepted at Genadendal only in 1926 when the old Church Council was dissolved on 6 October 1926. With the approval of all congregations, the first Church Conference could convene at Elim in 1922, where the constitution was accepted and *Die Broederkerk in SA-Wes* was officially founded. Twelve delegates, each elected by their respective congregations, five indigenous ministers and fourteen missionaries constituted the conference. Marx summed up the results as follows: "A milestone of the greatest significance" was reached; the "foundation stone for the autonomous 'Broederkerk in Zuid Afrika-West' was laid."⁴²⁶ A further important step forward was again taken at the 4th Church Conference at Elim in 1930. Thus far, all three members of the Provincial Board, the governing body of the Broederkerk, were missionaries. Under the influence and goodwill of Dr Baudert, the visiting Director of Mission, the three members of the board agreed that the Church Conference could elect an indigenous member. The Church order stipulated that an indigenous minister could not be elected, until indigenous ministers served one third of all congregations.⁴²⁷ Baudert was convinced that the time for a courageous step forward had come and that able persons were available (Beck, 1981: 417 – 418).⁴²⁸ In this way, *koinonia* and goodwill triumphed over legalism. The decision was received with profound satisfaction and Dietrich was elected as the first indigenous, South African member of the Provincial Board (Schaberg, 1955: VI, 18).

Now everything had to be adapted to the new dispensation. With regard to finances, the Broederkerk was entirely responsible for meeting its own expenses, in particular the salaries of the indigenous ministers. At the third Church Conference in 1927, a motion was carried that the Broederkerk contribute 750 pounds annually to the salaries of the missionaries. This demonstrated the far-sightedness of both the person who made the proposal and of the house that supported it, because it anticipated that the Broederkerk

⁴²⁶ Reports 1922 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 105.

⁴²⁷ This stipulation was a reflection of the autocratic euro centric manner in which the whole church order was imposed in a 'top-down' fashion on the mission fields. However, as a first step, and with only five indigenous ministers, it was a start in the right direction.

⁴²⁸ Cf. Schaberg, 1975: 101.

would take over the whole Mission, and wanted to prepare the congregations for this eventuality.⁴²⁹ The South African-West mission field had completed the first phase of its history, in which strong congregations were founded. Now it had entered the second phase: a growing indigenous Church alongside the remainder of the Mission. Both were on their way to the third phase, when everything would be in the hands of the Broederkerk (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 106 – 107).

Conflict developed in due course over which way the Church should take to independence and when it took its course through four conferences,⁴³⁰ the main subject was autonomy. It found its amicable end at the fifth Conference, when the right path was finally agreed upon. In 1939, Schaberg, the new superintendent, strategically went on his first furlough to Germany when WW II broke out. The concern in the Church, with the experience of WW I behind it, was about the safeguarding of the Broederkerk and property from confiscation because of the German connection.⁴³¹ However, conflict developed about this concern. On the one side, Schmidt (the acting superintendent), most of the missionaries and some SA ministers wanted to preserve the Church by remaining loyal to the existing constitution. They did not see any danger regarding the debt of the Moravian Mission Trading Company (MMTC),⁴³² which amounted to 30 000 pounds, if thrift was applied, and wanted to await the end of the war. The other side was led by Winckler, a British subject born in Jamaica as the son of a missionary, and Daniel Moses Wessels, born in Genadendal and an indigenous minister of Lansdowne congregation, principal of a school and independent thinker. They were supported by most of the ministers and some prominent delegates to the Church Conference, like Martinus

⁴²⁹ Minutes of the Church Conference 1927.

⁴³⁰ Minutes of the Church Conferences 1941, 1942, 1943, 1947.

⁴³¹ Especially since Germany was the aggressor in both WW I and II.

⁴³² The MMTC was established in 1935 after the SAW Handel was liquidated because it ran into huge debts with banks and individuals. The business undertaking could not offer any security and so the immovable property of the Mission, buildings and even the landed property of mission stations, had to be mortgaged. This led to much anxiety amongst the members and indigenous leadership. This happened in the year 1929, when the whole world was plunged into an economic crisis due to the Wall Street crisis, which had grave effects on SA too.

Steenveld from Moravian Hill (born in Elim), father-in-law of Wessels, and Frederik Daniels from Elim. They asked for the immediate transfer of all Mission property to the Broederkerk, in order to safeguard it against possible seizure by the Nazi government of Germany. Besides, they warned that should Germany be defeated, the connection with Herrnhut might be cut off permanently. After much pressure from within to hold a church conference and restriction from without by the government, who declared itself "strictly against a meeting of enemy subjects" (whilst only four missionaries were German), Schmidt eventually succeeded to gain permission from the magistrate for a Church Conference in Cape Town from 5 to 10 January 1941 at Moravian Hill (Cape Town) "because of the improvement of the political situation in the country."⁴³³ At the Conference a Commission on Autonomy, "Kommissie in Sake Selfstandigheid" (KISS), was elected and mandated to report within six months. Its members were the Provincial Board (PB), its substitutes, DM Wessels and H Freymark, and the delegates, Daniels and Steenveld. Schmidt declined to serve. At the Conference, where the majority of members were against Schmidt, a motion was carried according to which only ministers who had at least served five years as chief minister in a congregation, would in future qualify for election to the Provincial Board. In this way, a re-election of B Krüger, who supported Schmidt, was blocked and Winckler replaced him as was intended.⁴³⁴ In the aftermath of The Moravian Hill Conference, an Elim Conference took place from 12 until 17 January 1942, where KISS pushed for immediate autonomy and the transfer of properties.⁴³⁵ Preceding the Conference, KISS petitioned the Unity Board to free the "trust property" from the bond of 30 000 pounds and to acknowledge the Broederkerk as completely autonomous, but the Board advised KISS to wait till the end of the war as the repayments of the bond were not possible. In a telegram, KISS expressed its dissatisfaction and intent by telegram: "Local Mission authorities repeatedly declared inability assisting church financially stop British subjects unwilling tolerate Nazi control of Church stop self-dependence subject to later approval by General Synod only way out of our difficulties stop instruct superintendent fully co-operate with Church for self-

⁴³³ Report of Schmidt, 1942 – 1948.

⁴³⁴ Minutes of the Moravian Hill Church Conference 1941.

⁴³⁵ Minutes of the Elim Church Conference 1942.

dependence stop.”⁴³⁶ Although the expected telegram from the Mission Board in England was not forthcoming, the Conference, which first deliberated on the elaborate document of KISS,⁴³⁷ voted with a 4/5 majority in favour of all motions concerning autonomy. A Council of Trustees was created as legal owner of the property of the Mission. KISS was replaced by a Commission of Five (K5) with Kroneberg as chairperson, Winckler and Wessels as substitutes for Schmidt, Daniels and Steenveld. K5 was entrusted with the right of leadership and was to take over the functions of the Provincial Board as soon as the property could be transferred and the new church order introduced. In the meantime, it only made use of its “right of leadership” in questions of autonomy. Everything else was managed according to the old church order by the newly elected Provincial Board, with Schmidt, Kroneberg and Winckler as members.⁴³⁸

After the Conference, K5 had requested the Government for help with the transfer of the properties from the administrator of the trust, the Mission, to the beneficiary, the Broederkerk, if necessary by legislation.⁴³⁹ But, as the tide of war turned in favour of the Allied forces, the unexpected outcome to the request of K5 came only in 1944 after the Allied forces had won the war. On 11 December 1944, the Minister of the Interior placed all properties under the “Custodian of Enemy Property” – as in WW I – and appointed Schmidt as administrator.⁴⁴⁰ After WW II, on the renewed request of K5 that the Broederkerk be considered as the only channel for negotiations on autonomy, the Unity Board asked for a memorandum to be laid before the post-war Unity Synod in 1946. The Unity Board endorsed the request of the Broederkerk Provincial Board that the status of self-supporting Province is granted to the mission-field of SA-West.⁴⁴¹ At the Conference of 1947, Conference rejected a motion by the Unity Board that the chairperson of the Mission should be appointed in Europe as usual, while the chairperson

⁴³⁶ Report of Schmidt: 1942 – 1948.

⁴³⁷ KISS, Rapport 1942.

⁴³⁸ Minutes of the Elim Church Conference 1942 (cf. Report Schmidt, 1942 – 1948).

⁴³⁹ KISS Rapport.

⁴⁴⁰ Report of Schmidt, 1942 – 1948.

⁴⁴¹ Report of Schmidt, 1942 – 1948.

of the Broederkerk should be elected in South Africa. Conference was determined and clear that when the Church became autonomous all assets had to be transferred to the one Moravian Church in South Africa. K5, satisfied with the outcome of the property and autonomy process, announced its own dissolution, which was accepted.⁴⁴²

Despite all these constitutional and economic tensions, the spiritual life of the Church did not suffer. Two lay movements were founded that played a strategic role in the formation and empowerment of the members in the future life and witness of the Church, and which enhanced the publicness of the Moravian Church in South Africa with regard to its life and witness. The Moravian Sunday School Union (MSUSA) was founded in 1942, followed by the Moravian Youth Union (MYUSA) in 1952 (Ulster, 1982: 1).

The publicness of the Church also manifested in its public position as property owner, since it related as an alien entity to the State with regard to property in times of war and in its constitutional disposition regarding legal interpretations and the judiciary. In both cases lawyers were consulted and it was necessary to call on the political authorities in its administrative capacity and also as legislature. In other instances, judges were involved. Its publicness was also manifested in its configuration as ecumenical entity when it spanned the divides of war and nationalism in witnessing to the worldwide Unity of the Moravian Church by remaining in the Unity despite its quest for autonomy.

5.4 Die Broederkerk: from the Unity Synod of 1948 until autonomy in 1960

The political context gave birth to a fateful change. After Prime Minister JC Smuts was defeated in the first post-war elections in 1948, a National Party government led by DF Malan replaced him and his coalition. The infamous concept "apartheid" and the equally evil policy connected with it was ascribed to DF Malan (Cameron, 1986:271).

At the Lansdowne Conference in June 1949, the resolution of the Unity Synod at Bad Boll in 1948 was presented in its original English together with an Afrikaans

⁴⁴² Minutes of Genadendal Church Conference, 1947.

translation.⁴⁴³ The Unity Synod renewed “to the Broederkerk . . . its assurance to give every possible assistance to the fulfilment of the desire of the Broederkerk to attain self-dependence at an early date” and the two main conditions for autonomy were set. One condition concerned the Mission: “In the transitional period the Mission Institute will gradually transfer to the Broederkerk the real estate, including land now occupied by the MMTC in so far as it is immediately associated with the mission stations . . . The conveyance to the Broederkerk will be in the form of a gift. Costs of conveyance will be met by the Broederkerk.” The second condition concerned the Broederkerk: “The Broederkerk will in the transitional period show that it is able to carry on the work from its own resources. It is understood that this includes a continuance of the extension work hitherto carried on. The Broederkerk will pay the salaries of all ministers . . . it may ask for the payment of subsidies . . . These shall be reduced and finally rendered unnecessary and the Broederkerk is asked to prepare definite plans for progressive reduction. The amount of the subsidy is fixed at present at an amount not exceeding 700 pounds.”⁴⁴⁴

In accepting the resolution, the Church Conference signalled the end of a turbulent chapter in the history of the Church and the beginning of a new one.⁴⁴⁵ With this challenge before it, the Church embarked on the road to full autonomy, with the intention of remaining within the fold of the Unity. Since the 1922 Conference, the indigenous Moravian ministers and the members, together with those missionaries who shared their vision, had always worked for a self-supporting church as province of the world wide *Unitas Fratrum*, first “in transition” and then fully equal to all other Unity Provinces, and this was the path to follow.

The first step towards this goal was a new church order. The Winckler version was revised and accepted by the Church Conference in Mamre in 1952.⁴⁴⁶ In future, the highest body of authority of the Church would be the Synod. At the first Synod of the

⁴⁴³ Minutes of the Lansdowne Church Conference, 1949.

⁴⁴⁴ Minutes of the Unity Synod, 1948.

⁴⁴⁵ Minutes of the Lansdowne Church Conference, 1949.

⁴⁴⁶ Minutes of the Mamre Church Conference, 1952.

Broederkerk in SA held in 1956,⁴⁴⁷ matters pertaining to the *Unitas Fratrum* were discussed for the first time. A motion that the Unity Board grants full autonomy to the Broederkerk, with effect from 1960, was addressed to the General Synod, which convened in Bethlehem, USA in 1957.⁴⁴⁸ Schaberg, as bishop and chairperson of the Provincial Board, attended the Unity Synod as its one non-voting member. The "Province in Transition, South Africa Western Province" was recognised as a "Synodal Province" and authorised to send two delegates to the next Unity Synod.⁴⁴⁹

The conditions for autonomy were, in short: the Church had to be self-supporting in terms of staff and means, had to administer itself, grow autonomously and have the spiritual power to send out messengers of the Gospel.

The theological seminary, which was opened in 1952 in Fairview, Port Elizabeth, started training ministers, not only for the Broederkerk, but also for SA-East, the Berlin mission and for the Finnish and Rhenish mission in SA-West. In 1958, nine full-time students were enrolled in a three-year course and seven teacher-students in a four-year course. In 1960, of the seventeen new ministers, only four had been sent out from Europe and thirteen had come through the Moravian Theological Seminary. The Broederkerk, by continuing to call and employ German ministers in the Church, retained its ecumenical nature and served as a witness against apartheid (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 128).

In addition, the Broederkerk had to supply all the means for the double task of maintaining and extending itself. It covered its running cost fully. The income came mainly from the members since 1922. From 1949, the Broederkerk also gradually took over the financial responsibilities while the Mission paid a voluntary contribution, which finally ended. The Church, however, rose to the occasion and raised its own funds for all expenses, including the considerable cost of the transfer of Mission properties to the

⁴⁴⁷ Minutes of Synod of Die Broederkerk, 1956.

⁴⁴⁸ Minutes of Synod of Die Broederkerk, 1956.

⁴⁴⁹ Minutes of the Unity Synod, 1957.

Broederkerk. It is remarkable that the Broederkerk accomplished this tremendous task by 1960 (Schaberg, 1978: 324 – 327).

The administration of the Church, which was a further condition for autonomy, was in the hands of the Provincial Board. Paul W Schaberg held the position of Superintendent as from 1 December 1948 and the Church Conference elected Kroneberg, Wessels⁴⁵⁰ and Krüger as members. Since 1949 the Provincial Board had shown that it was capable of administering the Church. The leaders of the congregations had proved the same (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 131).

The extension of the work took on six characteristic trends of development (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 135 – 141).

a. The increase in congregations is reflected by the following statistics:

- 1930: 11 congregations, members 17 700.
- 1939: 13 congregations, members 19 500.
- 1948: 15 congregations, members 20 300.
- 1959: 22 congregations, members 27 600.

b. Increase in landed property

The Broederkerk experienced a large growth in its property holdings through the transfer of the real estate belonging to the Moravian Mission and through the buying of plots. By 1960, all the property of the old main stations, including the large farmlands of Elim and Goedverwacht, had been transferred.

c. More church buildings

During the fifties, eleven new church buildings and four smaller rooms were erected. Some were erected in the true Moravian spirit with voluntary labour.

d. More schoolrooms

Through its schools, the Moravian Church had the opportunity to educate children according to its calling. In 1930, 3 432 children were educated in 26 schools by 87

⁴⁵⁰ Kroneberg and Wessels were both indigenous ministers.

teachers. In 1960, 8 118 children were educated in 49 schools by 242 teachers. In the fifties, 111 schoolrooms were built.

e. Increased capital

In 1958, assets to the value of 215 312 pounds were shown. Even this high figure was far below the market value. Nevertheless, it indicated an extraordinary growth in the value of the Church's possessions.

The second phase of development, when the decreasing Mission and the increasing Broederkerk worked alongside each other had come to an end. The Mission was fully integrated into the Church. The missionaries and the indigenous ministers worked under exactly the same conditions of service and remuneration. Henceforth they were brothers among brothers. The bishop was a spiritual helper and not a high administrator of the Church. The Church was truly self-supporting and truly Moravian.

The final application for full autonomy, fully documented and supported by Motel,⁴⁵¹ was granted by the Unity Synod as from 1 June 1960. Die Broederkerk in SA-West was a self-reliant church and an autonomous Unity Province. It had been a long and, in many respects, arduous way from the first brave and lonely missionary, Georg Schmidt, to a proud indigenous Church with 29 166 souls, of which 10 632 were communicant members and 15 271 children, which was recognised by the first post-war General Synod as a "Synodal Province" of the *Unitas Fratrum* (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 151).

5.5 Summary

Since that first humble beginning with Schmidt, the Church had by means of its missionaries endeavoured to stay true to its calling in its entire configuration as church. It had been brave in its dealings with the Government. It had sought various means to engage with government on matters ecclesiastical, legislative, judiciary, moral, land and property, human rights, economic, military, educational, on international, national, regional and local. It has organised and administered itself as part of a worldwide

⁴⁵¹ Motel was the Director of Mission, who personally attended the second Synod of the Broederkerk in SA-West in 1959.

fellowship and as a local entity on a global and local level in times of peace and war. It had engaged with its external environment in the face of colonisation and imperial expansionism (especially with regard to the Bantu-speaking people), as well as the internal liberation struggle of the Boers. It had dealt as champions and protectors of the Khoi-Khoi (later the Coloureds) in a most direct way with the neighbouring farmers in matters of infringement of land and grazing-rights, morality and justice, labour and education, trade and economy, as well as worship and evangelism (the so-called Diaspora-plan).

With regard to the ecclesiastical internal environment, it had critically learnt to deal with issues such as mission and culture (acculturation, enculturation and transculturation) paternalism and tolerance, education and training, empowerment, shared responsibility, shared management, inclusiveness, indigenous political aspirations and assertiveness, nationalism, property rights, accountability and transparency. The Moravian Church, through its mission agency in South Africa, had strengthened its basis in seeking ecumenical co-operation by being part of establishing regional and national mission organisations in South Africa to deal collectively with issues of mutual interest in relation to the state and society. It had learnt to balance and consolidate its interest as a young small assertive mission field in SA-West in its quest for autonomy in relation to the experienced worldwide *Unitas Fratrum*.

The *Unitas Fratrum* had eventually granted SA-West autonomy and full status as a Unity Province as it had met the prerequisites. It had come in the final analyses to support the determined indigenous Church to acquire self-reliance and autonomy. Since June 1960 the Broederkerk in South Africa has enjoyed equal status together with the European Province, the two USA Provinces and the British Province. However, this status was not an end in itself, but rather a new beginning, with increased responsibility for life in its totality before God, especially in own context; an inspiration to witness with responsibility to the truth of the values of the reign of God in all configurations of being Church. Would it be equipped and prepared enough to meet the challenges of its micro and macro environment?

CHAPTER 6

THE SELF-RELIANT UNIFIED MCSA IN THE PUBLIC ARENA (1960 – 2001)

Only the courage of an act combines the past and the future, by so emphasising the historically grasped essence of a cultural complex for the present, that the future arises out of the essence in a manner demanded by the present and yet at the same time exhausting the depth of the historical impulse. But if in this sense the definition of essence is an act, then it is no longer merely a judgement about history but it is itself a piece of history.

(Troeltsch, 1971:161)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter in its first part (6.1 – 6.5) will deal with the main strands of apartheid (as it was constitutionally entrenched in the government system and propagated and enforced into the social structures emanating from it in South Africa) in order to furnish the context in which the Moravian Church lived her being and witness. In this context the Church's positioning, through its Church Boards, Synods and organisations, and its constitutional development (in relation to and in co-operation with international and national church bodies – its ecumenical relations) will be investigated and evaluated to come to a critical understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Church as public church. In the second part (6.6) the formation of one Moravian Church as a witness to the political transformation in SA is discussed.

6.2 The Period leading up to 1960: The entrenchment of apartheid and the reaction from below

Politically,⁴⁵² the stage for the sixties was set in the preceding decade, 1948 – 1960, and even earlier (1910), which changed the face of South Africa. The Sauer Report, which

⁴⁵² Unless otherwise stated all information on the political terrain of South Africa is taken from Wilson, M and Thompson, L 1969 *The Oxford History of South Africa*, I and II; Cameron, T 1986 (vol. I), 1989 (vol.

mentioned only two possibilities for the political situation in SA, introduced the word “apartheid”, either to move towards equality between White and Black communities or to develop complete separation (Omer-cooper 1987: 191). The Reunited National Party, which had since 1934 stood for total segregation, fought and won the election in 1948 under its concept of apartheid, pointing out the shortcomings of the Smuts Government. Malan became the new Prime Minister and implemented the apartheid policy with the introduction of the Mixed Marriages Act in 1949 and the Population Registration Act in 1950. A race Classification Board was established, and a national register was compiled in which every individual was classified according to race. The Group Areas Act was also introduced, which was to restrict each group to its own residential and trading area. The Suppression of Communism Act, which outlawed the Communist Party of South Africa and other relevant organisations, became law in 1950 (Omer-cooper 1987: 193 – 236)⁴⁵³.

The Government implemented its policy of Separate Development and its rule was characterised by strict racial separation and the suppression of all who opposed the policy. One law after the other was issued in order to maintain the political domination. The new order and measures taken by the Government led to violence, misery, suffering and death, which in the view of the International Human Rights Charter constituted structural violence. The radical policy effected a radical reaction. The growing African nationalism became more aggressive and even exclusive. Peaceful resistance escalated into violence (cf. Cameron 1986: 281 – 289).

The Herenigde Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Party merged to become the National Party (NP) in 1951. Through the election held in 1953 and 1958 the NP increased its majority. The weakened United Party further split at their central congress in 1959 when a group broke away and established the Progressive Party, which stood for a multiracial Government and a multiracial Parliament. In 1954, Strijdom succeeded Malan as Prime

II), 1994 (vol. III) *An Illustrated History of South Africa*; Theal, GM 1908, 1910 *History of South Africa since 1795* (Five volumes).

⁴⁵³ Cf. Cameron: 1986: 278 for a full list of principal apartheid legislation from 1949 – 1961.

Minister, and after his death in 1958, Verwoerd who had been the Minister of Native Affairs since 1952, became Prime Minister. During his time, "apartheid" was changed to "separate development" (cf. Cameron 1986: 271 - 273; Omer-cooper 1987: 193).

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was introduced in 1951, followed up by the Native Laws Amendment Act. The movement of Africans was now controlled and nobody could remain in an urban area for more than 72 hours without a pass. It led to untold misery. Reference books were also introduced and had to be carried at all times. It became a punishable offence if they could not be produced when demanded by the police. Even more contentious was the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which provided for a colour bar in public buildings and public means of conveyance by signboards stating "European Only" or "Non-European Only". The same year, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was directed against civil disobedience, and the Public Safety Act by which a state of emergency could be declared, were enacted. In 1956, the Riotous Assemblies Act was passed which made it possible to ban people without any proceedings at law. In 1958, police and local authorities were empowered to raid any place to look for illegal African residents (Wilson 1969: 459 - 464; Cameron 1986: 272 - 286).

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act was accepted with the fundamental idea of Bantu control over Bantu areas⁴⁵⁴ as and when it became possible for them to exercise that control efficiently and properly for the benefit of their own people. The Tomlinson Report of 1954 recommended separate development in view of the possibility that integration would lead to racial friction. This was done based on developing the Reserves in order to make them economically viable. However, the government was reluctant to embark on a full-scale development programme. The first territorial authority was established in Transkei in 1957, and two years later the Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act was introduced which aimed at developing the territories into self-governing homelands (Wilson 1969: 459 - 464; Cameron 1986: 272 - 286).

⁴⁵⁴ After the Natives Land Act was passed in 1913 only 7,3% of the total land area was allocated to the African reserves.

According to the new order, the education system also had to be changed. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 came into force on 1 January 1954. The control of African education was to be transferred from the Missions and the Provinces to the Bantu Education Department under the Native Affairs Department of the Government. School committees and school boards were to be appointed and linked to the structures of the tribal authority. Verwoerd, who was Minister of Native Affairs at the time, wanted the Africans to be trained and taught “in accordance with their opportunities in life.” The system, which emphasised teaching through the mother tongue and on relating education to tribal culture, introduced a new syllabus. In 1959, the extension of the University Education Act introduced “non-white” universities and thus closed the doors of the open universities. In this way, the Broederkerk lost six of its schools with more than 600 children (Willson 1989: 459 – 464; Cameron 1986: 272 – 286).

In 1962, the administration of schools was taken from the Cape Province and transferred to the Coloured Affairs Department in spite of resistance from the majority of teachers, who considered this an apartheid measure. Under the new dispensation, the influence of the Church in school matters was gradually reduced (Schaberg, 1978: 295 – 296).⁴⁵⁵

6.2.1 Political reaction from below against the apartheid system

The radical political reform provoked all the Africans, and those who had chosen the way of passive resistance turned their strategy to revolutionary means. The turning point came in 1952. In January, the ANC sent an ultimatum to Malan urging him to repeal all unjust laws. When he refused, demonstrations were held on 6 April, the day on which the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in South Africa was officially celebrated. People demonstrated and deliberately broke all apartheid laws (the defiance

⁴⁵⁵ Despite the apartheid measures, the Church’s role in education, especially in Port Elizabeth, was acknowledged by the community at large by naming two state schools after two Moravian educationists, viz. Dietrich Primary School in Schauder Township in 1951 after Rev ES Dietrich, and Dr AW Habelgaarn Primary at Bloemendal in 1978 after its namesake.

campaign) with the appeal: Mayibuye Africa! (Let Africa come back) (Wilson 1969: 459 – 464; Cameron 1986: 272 – 286).

During this civil disobedience campaign, which lasted for four months and also led to violent confrontation, about 8 000 people were arrested. In the following years consumer boycotts of commodities and services were also organised. In 1955, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was founded. The aim was to organise the workers and to participate in the struggle against various forms of oppression. In 1955, the Congress of the People was held and the Freedom Charter was adopted. It proclaimed that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White” and promoted a non-racial society, liberty and individual rights in a democratic state (Omer-cooper 1987: 207).

The Government reacted with restrictions and banning orders. In December 1956, 156 officials of the alliance were arrested on the charge of high treason. The accused were found innocent in March 1961. However, the adoption of the Freedom Charter led to an ideological split of the ANC. The Africanists stood for an exclusive African nationalism and in 1959, the Pan-African Congress was established (Omer-cooper 1987: 207 – 208).

The decade closed with the fateful year of 1960 when the ANC and the PAC called for demonstrations against the pass laws, which included the burning of passes. In a severe confrontation with the police at Sharpville on 21 March, of about 5 000 people gathered, 69 were killed and 180 wounded when the people were fired upon by the police. This resulted in various demonstrations over the country in which thousands of Africans were charged or detained. Luthuli called on the people to observe a day of mourning on 28 March by staying at home. In response, the Government declared a state of emergency on 30 March. On the 8 April, the Unlawful Organisations Act was passed, and the PAC and ANC were declared illegal

organisations and forced underground. Oliver Thambo left the country and started to organise the resistance from abroad (Omer-cooper 1987: 209 – 210; Cameron 1986: 281 – 284).

In spite of the unstable political situation, a referendum among the Whites was held in October, and 52% of the Whites voted in favour of establishing a republic. The Sharpsville incident became the real turning point for the African liberation struggle to start opposing the Government by violent means. However, the event also resulted in strong international criticism and condemnation of the policy of apartheid, which further led to a major economic crisis in South Africa (Omer-cooper 1987: 210; Cameron 1986: 287).

6.2.2 The Church and its stance in a volatile situation

In the midst of all the division, polarisation and alienation the Churches came together to orient itself theologically in a political situation of estrangement.

In this situation of tension and unrest the Churches tried to come to a better understanding among each other, and they made an effort to confront what was happening. The Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches invited all leaders of evangelical churches and Missions to an Interracial Conference of Church Leaders in order to discuss the extension of the Kingdom of God in multiracial South Africa. The conference was held in 1953, and the Moravians were also represented (Nielsen 1999: 334). A continuation committee was appointed that organised further conferences, of which the most decisive one was the Cottesloe Consultation of December 1960 resulting from the crisis in South Africa, caused by the boycotts and riots. The assembly created a crisis in the South African ecumenical environment because there were denominational and political differences, especially regarding the issue of race, which could not be overcome. The

Afrikaans (Afrikaner Churches) and English Churches were unable to find common ground in their opposition to the government. The Continuation Committee was dissolved in 1962. The Moravian Church supported the Christian Council of South Africa, which took a firm stand against the policy and propaganda of the Government (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 164).⁴⁵⁶ The Church could thus join other Churches speaking with one prophetic voice on all relevant issues, which was more effective than to speak with a single voice.

The White Lutheran Churches and the Lutheran Mission Societies also tried to establish closer co-operation and the Moravians were invited to the Conference. This led to the formation of "The Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation" for Southern Africa in 1953, consisting of Churches and Missions that subscribed to the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Luther. The Moravians thus became one of the founding members of this Council (Krüger and Schaberg: 1984: 164 – 165).⁴⁵⁷

On his official visit to South Africa in July 1955, Bishop Steinberg wanted to inform himself about the possibility of amalgamating the Eastern and Western Provinces of the Moravian Church. A Conference of all European co-workers with their wives was called in Shiloh (Nielsen, 1999: 337). There had of course always been contact between both provinces and even more so during the last years through the co-operation in the town work at Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. A combined Church Conference of the two Provinces had furthermore been planned in order to discuss the feasibility of such a union as a witness in the apartheid situation.

Another matter which was discussed was the formation of a "Moravian Mission Society in SA" as a successor of the so-called "Missionsanstalt",

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Nielsen, 1999: 334.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Nielsen, 1999: 335.

the Mission Institute of the Moravian Church, which existed as a legal body in Saxony, Germany, since 2 June 1894 and which was the board holding the title for the Church to own property in many countries. It was felt that the properties in South Africa should now be taken over and controlled by a South African Society so that they could not be confiscated as properties of the enemy in times of war. The constitution of the Society was drawn up and the Society was established on 4 December 1956. Thus, all properties of both Provinces registered in the name of the Mission Institute were transferred to the Moravian Mission Society in SA, which was managed by German Moravians exclusively (Nielsen 1999: 337).

From 4 to 9 July 1956 the First Combined Conference of the two Provinces was held at Salem, Port Elizabeth, with joint and separate sessions. On this occasion in its own session (12th Church Conference), SA-East passed the following resolution regarding independence: "The Church Conference applies to the Mission Board that this Province be recognised as a Province in transition as from 1960 by the General Synod in 1957" (Nielsen 1999: 338 – 339).

At the Combined Conference, the first since 1869, but this time with the members of the Church, the Provincial reports on Church activities conveyed the first insight into the life and development of the sister Provinces. Similarities and differences were observed and led to meaningful contributions. On discussing the scope of co-operation, the establishment of a Theological Seminary at Fairview, Port Elizabeth, caught the imagination of all (Nielsen 1999: 339).

The main topic of the Conference was the question of uniting the two Provinces. A paper was presented and read, and four possibilities were mentioned:

1. One Province with one Provincial Synod and one Provincial Conference;

2. One Province with one Provincial Synod and one SA Board, but still keeping the two respective Church Conferences and the Provincial Conferences;
3. Two independent Provinces with two Provincial Conferences but with one South African Unity Board;
4. Two independent Provinces with two Provincial Conferences and only a Liaison Committee (Nielsen 1999: 339).

Three worthy and insightful contributions noted in the minutes were:

This is definitely an opportunity to live out our Christian principles⁴⁵⁸ . . . The policy of the world is to divide but by accepting this plan for mutual co-operation we would prove to the world in a concrete way our desires which are in our hearts and minds. The difference in language, development and traditions should not be a barrier . . . We are called to negate the boggy of difference in culture and language. It is a means of bearing witness as Christians ought to.⁴⁵⁹

Unity between SAE and SAW will strengthen each other. Our Christian calling should be toward unity and not follow the political trend of this country. The idea of co-operation should have our wholehearted support. Difficulties are there to be overcome.

Our discussion should be based on what we consider to be the will of Christ. We should feel that we have been together at this Synod and Conference to stay together.”⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ P Mazwi, 1956, First Combined Conference.

⁴⁵⁹ D Ivan Wessels, 1956, First Combined Conference.

⁴⁶⁰ AW Habelgaarn, 1956, First Combined Conference.

The motion was discussed at length, and a resolution for the third prospect for co-operation was passed.

The separate and joint sessions of the two Moravian Churches thus led to the establishment of the South African Board (SAB) consisting of the members of both Provincial Boards. Although the Board could not take any decision binding on SAE or SAW, it had the task to prepare the way for close co-operation, which ultimately would lead the Church on the way toward becoming one Unity Province of the Unity (Nielsen 1999: 340 – 341). Thus the first step toward one province was taken.

Having depicted the circumstances that gave rise to the sixties on the political and church fronts, we now turn to the actual period under review and the heterogeneous and indigenous interactions between State and Church, in particular the Moravian Church. What were the main political trends of the period 1960 until 1994? In what way did the Church witness to the truth of justice, political inclusiveness, a democratic institution, violence, structural and otherwise, riots, terrorism, and liberation struggle? How did the Moravian Church assist in the process of transformation of the South African?

6.3 Apartheid in juxtaposition with “the ideal of a democratic and free society”⁴⁶¹ (1961 – 1970)

The 1960s saw not only a continuation of unrest and disturbances in the whole country, but also a ruthless suppression of any form of opposition by the Government. Leaders were imprisoned and banned; others left the country. By the end of 1963, relative peace was restored, and it prevailed up to the end of the decade. At the general election in 1966 the National Party won and increased its majority in the Parliament. Verwoerd, who had survived an assassination attempt in 1961, had died shortly thereafter when he was

⁴⁶¹ Words of Mandela during the Rivonia Trial in 1964 (cf. Mandela 1994: 354).

stabbed in the House of Assembly. John Vorster succeeded him as Prime Minister (Thompson 1995: 223).

The decade saw the implementation of the Grand Apartheid Policy, which aimed at creating homelands and establishing group areas. Almost two million people were thus forcefully removed with great suffering according to the Group Areas Act. They were moved from towns, villages and cities to townships, resettling camps and villages. Whole suburbs like Sophiatown, District Six, South-End and Cato Manor were emptied and people uprooted under the slum-clearance scheme. Places like Sada (Eastern Cape), Atlantis and Mitchells Plain (Western Cape), Mdantsane (East London) and Soweto (Johannesburg) were developed for the "Non-whites", where people were resettled without choice (cf. Thompson 1995: 191 – 204; Cameron 1986: 293 – 296).

The decade also saw the increasing isolation of South Africa. The policy of apartheid was condemned as a "crime against humanity" at the UN and international pressure was applied. The OAU advocated the use of military force to eliminate racism in SA. In 1969 the Lusaka Manifesto, which expressed any possible support for all peoples in Southern Africa in their struggle against the oppressors, was accepted (Cameron 1986: 295 – 296).

The economy of the country was at a low at the beginning of the decade, but changed in 1963 when South Africa experienced an economic boom. Investments from the international community increased and foreign trade flourished even with African countries. With an ever-increasing budget, the Government also started to build up its defence capabilities and to develop its own arms industry. However, the achieved industrialisation utterly failed to provide an improved lifestyle for all people because of the many restrictive laws of the Government, which hindered and restrained such progress (Thompson 1995: 216 – 220).

Politically, the year 1961 brought the establishment of the Republic of South Africa. Whilst the Government was preparing the celebrations, the ANC held a Conference at the

end of March in Pietermaritzburg, where a National Action Council under Nelson R Mandela was elected. The Council called on the Government to establish a National Convention by 31 May, warning that demonstrations would follow if they did not comply. The Government reacted by banning all gatherings. On 29 May when the demonstrations began, thousands were detained. The campaign was then called off. The Republic of South Africa was established on 31 May and the Government terminated its membership of the Commonwealth. CR Swart became the first State President (Omer-cooper 1987: 210).

This event also became a turning point for the ANC. At the National Executive meeting, Mandela maintained that the time had now come to take up the armed struggle. The executive was open-minded but would not yet give up the Policy of Non-Violence. In June 1961 the ANC founded Umkhonto weSizwe (The Spear of the Nation), an organisation, which was to carry out acts of sabotage without harm to life. Its campaign started in December when installations and Government offices were bombed. About the same time the PAC established the Poqo ("standing alone") movement, which consisted of small groups. The aim was to disrupt the country and overthrow the Government, and acts of terrorism were committed against Whites and African collaborators (Cameron 1986: 288 – 289). In order to defeat these two movements the Government introduced the "Ninety-day" Act in 1963 by which the police could detain any person on suspicion of political activities. Poqo, which prepared an uprising, was broken when their headquarters were raided and hundreds arrested. The same year the police also raided the headquarters of Umkhonto weSizwe on a farm in Rivonia where the leadership was studying Operation Mayibuye, a plan for revolution. At the trial, known as the Rivonia Trial, Mandela said, "I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Mandela, Sisulu and G. Mbeki were sentenced to life imprisonment. The ANC was thus largely broken, as its leadership had been removed. In 1967 a group of Black students under Steve Biko started to campaign for an All Black University Movement. In

1969, he founded the Black Conscious Movement. Its philosophy was quickly taken up and soon became a force to be reckoned with (Omer-cooper 1987: 218).

Ecumenically, the Christian Council of South Africa to which the Moravian Church belonged became more representative of the whole population. In the 1950s, two thirds of delegates had been White, but in the 1960s, more and more Mission Churches became members, and in the 1970s, the majority of delegates were ethnic African. The Moravians who had been founder members and had affiliated as the Moravian Mission Society in 1936 registered as Die Broederkerk (SA) in 1960; and the Moravian Church (Eastern Cape) registered in 1963 as an independent entity (Nielsen 1999: 356).

The Council adopted its new constitution in 1968 and changed its name to the South African Council of Churches (SACC). It also issued a "Message to the People of South Africa", which was a direct consequence of the World Council of Churches (WCC) Conference on Church and Society held in 1966 in Geneva, Switzerland. It spoke out against any kind of injustice and examined the Policy of Separate Development because apartheid was in conflict with the Gospel. The Council now focused more on the Church as witness in society than on individual salvation. This was not acceptable to the Evangelicals who focussed on personal commitment to the Lord more than on political and social engagement. This new understanding and emphasis led to the withdrawal of the Baptist Union and the Salvation Army from the SACC. Although the theological formulation was open to criticism, the Moravian Church accepted the contents of the message as it led to the renewed discussion and re-thinking of the situation in the country. In 1969, SACC and the Christian Institute established the "Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society" (SPROCAS), which produced blueprints for the structuring of South African society in the social, political, economic, legal, educational and church fields. AW Habelgaarn became the president of the SACC for some years in 1971 (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 163 – 164).⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² Cf. Nielsen 1999: 356 – 357; Pillay 1991: 292 – 293 on the Message and Sprocas, which challenged many ministers and church members to reflect anew on their calling as Christians in South Africa.

The Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation was also transformed and became more representative. In 1966, the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA) was established and consisted of the Lutheran Churches and Mission agencies and the two Moravian Churches. AW Habelgaarn became its president from 1971 till his death in 1980. In this respect, it deserves to be mentioned that the Moravian Church also became a member of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in 1974 (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 164 – 165; Nielsen 1999: 357).

The Church further obtained membership of the All Africa Church Conference (AACC). The first meeting of the AACC was held at Kampala, Uganda in 1963 and was attended by the superintendent of the Moravian Church in SAE. In 1964, the Broederkerk also became a founder member of the AACC (Nielsen 1999: 357; Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 165).

Through the SACC the Broederkerk was in touch with the World Council of Churches in Geneva, which had been established in 1948 under the General Secretary WA Visser ‘t Hoofd. After the Broederkerk became an autonomous church it applied for full membership in 1960 and was accepted in 1961 at the assembly in New Delhi, India, where B Krüger represented it. At the next assembly in Uppsala, Sweden in 1968, he was elected as a member of the department of World Mission and Evangelism. The Moravian Church Eastern Cape became a member at the Uppsala assembly represented by WS Nielsen (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 164; Nielsen 1999: 358)⁴⁶³.

Through its membership of the WCC, the Moravian Church had to deal with the apartheid policy, and its discrimination and injustices, in connection with the “Ecumenical Programme of World Council of Churches to Combat Racism”. On the one hand, there was the decision of the WCC to grant financial assistance for social, educational and medical purposes to liberation movements; on the other hand, there was the recent threat by Prime Minister Vorster, who in September 1970 said that he “would

⁴⁶³ At the 1975 Assembly in Nairobi, Davis Gqweta, from SAE, was elected into the Central Committee of the WCC.

be neglecting his duty if he did not take action against the Churches for failing to disassociate themselves from the WCC" (De Gruchy 1979: 127 – 138). As withdrawal from the WCC was not debatable, the question "whether we as Christians can give our support to violence, even if it may seem to be justified as it is in the case with the WCC" had to be answered. The members of the Provincial Board of the MCSA (PB) agreed with the intention of the WCC, but could not accept the action⁴⁶⁴ as being in accordance with the Christian teachings, and therefore disassociated itself from the action together with the SACC and other Churches. The Church could not accept that kind of violence because evil cannot be combated with evil and the Moravians stood under the Law of their Lord Jesus Christ. The Synod had endorsed the decision not to withdraw from the WCC and not to pay contributions until the WCC had changed its policy towards supporting "subversive organisations." This statement and a letter were sent to the General Secretary of the WCC via the SACC and to all the congregations (Nielsen 1999: 366 – 367).

It must also be mentioned that the nine South African member Churches (of which the Moravian Church was one) of the WCC met in consultation to discuss the situation. When a meeting with the WCC delegation in South Africa was postponed, it was decided to attend the next Central Committee meeting in 1973 in Geneva, Switzerland. D Gqweta attended this meeting on behalf of the Moravian Church. All member Churches of the SACC retained their membership in the WCC and supported the Programme to Combat Racism in principle, but disagreed with some adopted methods. In 1975, D Gqweta, a member of the SAE, also attended the General Assembly of WCC at Nairobi where he was elected a member of the Central Committee (Nielsen 1999: 367).

As far as the Moravian situation on the continent was concerned, the Unity Conference of the worldwide Moravian Church, which was held in Cape Town in 1962, decided to institute Regional Conferences on all continents. The first Regional Conference of the four African Provinces was held in Rungwe, Tanzania with two provinces from Tanzania and two from South Africa (Nielsen 1999: 367).

⁴⁶⁴ "the means proposed to combat racism" (De Gruchy, 1979: 128).

Regarding the relationship between SAE and SAW, the South African Board, which since 1956 had met according to need, started to meet two times per year to discuss matters of common concern and to enable both Provinces to speak with one voice, especially on secular matters like the political, social, economic, etc. Special attention was given to move closer together. A combined Ministers Retreat was held at Mvenyane in 1970. That same year another symbol of unity was introduced and celebrated for the first time as SAE and SAW Sunday. Retreats for theological students from both Provinces in 1972 and 1974 helped the future ministers of the Church to develop a common vision (cf. Nielsen 1999: 381).

6.4 “From the lips of children”⁴⁶⁵ (1970 – 1980)

6.4.1 A nation under siege

In the 1970s the Republic of South Africa was in a crisis situation as the isolation resulting from disinvestment and the disruption of South African trade and air links were more and more felt. In addition, the interval of relative quiet at the end of the 1960s came to an end, and renewed unrest and uprisings took place.

The Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill and the Affected Organisations Bill was passed in 1973, which gave new powers to the police to close down premises, and to Magistrates to ban any gathering, public or private. In 1975, the Christian Institute (CI) was declared an affected organisation. The Moravian Church aligned itself with the SACC “because this organisation rendered great service to our country by calling for radical change in a peaceful way – something for what we all stand” (Nielsen, 1999: 385). In 1978, 18 organisations were declared unlawful, among them the CI, and the

⁴⁶⁵ Ps. 8:2 “From the lips of children and infants you have ordained praise because of your enemies to silence the foe and the avenger.

Newspapers *Pro Veritate*,⁴⁶⁶ *World and Weekend World*, and leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement were detained. In Soweto the Urban Bantu leadership was disbanded on account of student pressure, and other Black leaders, the Committee of Ten, took over. They were later detained and a Community Council was elected by a 5% poll in 1978. The situation became even tenser after the violent death in detention of Steve Biko who stood for non-violence.

The Africans reacted accordingly. Not only were the trade union organisations revived, which led to more and more strikes, but the attitude of militancy also sharpened. It was a time of the “rediscovery of the Black man.” The University Christian Movement promoted Black Consciousness and Black Theology as early as the sixties, which gave rise to the Black Consciousness Movement, increasingly promoting African awareness, pride and self-reliance.⁴⁶⁷ African students founded two bodies: The South African Students Organisation (SASO)⁴⁶⁸ and the South African Students Movement. At the Black Renaissance Convention in 1974 attended by Africans, Coloureds and Indians, the less radical members wanted Black solidarity, but the youth wanted an immediate one-man-one-vote changeover.

At the beginning of the 70s, there was not only the growing Black Consciousness Movement, but also an ecclesiastic search for a theology that

⁴⁶⁶ The founder of the CI and the editor of *Pro Veritatis*, Beyers Naudé (a prominent Afrikaner, erstwhile member of the Broederbond and brilliant DRC dominee), according to his self-confession, owe his transforming conscientisation to the Moravians (due to its multiracial composition at the time) when he courted and married his wife, Ilse, a daughter of a Moravian missionary (cf. Tutu’s speech at the opening of the Beyers Naudé Centre 2002 at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Stellenbosch).

⁴⁶⁷ For a short overview on the history and contribution of UCM to Black Theology see De Gruchy, 1979: 154 – 156.

⁴⁶⁸ It was at a UCM Conference that Biko and others first conceived the need to form SASO of which he then became president (De Gruchy, 1979: 155).

“will make Christ relevant to the Black man.” Because of the influence of Black Theology, also in the Moravian Church, an exposition by De Gruchy (1979: 156), who gives special attention to the critical classification of the relationship between African Theology and Black Theology, is of relevance: In an important sense Black Theology in South Africa began with the revolt of Black Christians at the turn of the century, a revolt that found institutional expression in the African independent churches. Black Theology is rooted in the on-going search of Black Christians for authentic expressions of Christianity in Africa. For this reason it is wrong to suggest that there is a fundamental difference between what is now called African Christian Theology and Black Theology. It is inseparable from Black Consciousness and it is a theology of liberation. There is furthermore a search for an indigenous theology relevant to African culture. It is a theology of indigenisation, but it is decidedly more than that. It is primarily a theology of contextualisation. Indigenisation describes the attempt to ensure that Christianity becomes rooted in African culture in the sense of language, music, and lifestyle. In contextualisation, the theology wrestles with the socio-political and economic situation. This provides the context for the life and mission of the Church. In Black Theology in South Africa, these two streams come together – the concern for cultural indigenisation and the struggle for liberation from socio-political bondage. Black Theology is “an attempt by black Christians to grasp and think through the central claims of the Christian faith in the light of black experience” (De Gruchy, 1979: 156).

6.4.2 “Children should be seen not hurt”⁴⁶⁹

The event that led to a violent outburst and shook the whole country was the Soweto uprising in 1976. The opposition to the system of Bantu education in the African schools reached its climax when the Government introduced Afrikaans as medium of instruction in Secondary Schools. On 16 June

⁴⁶⁹ A signboard in Spine Rd, Mitchellsplain (Cape Town), a focus point of the children’s unrest in Cape Town.

about 20 000 Soweto school children took part in a protest march in Orlando. Police who turned up on the scene fired shots that killed a child, Hector Petersen. Pandemonium broke out and more children were shot and wounded. The violence quickly spread into Soweto and all over the country. "An injury to one, is an injury to all", became the slogan of the oppressed youth of South Africa. In 1977 the Government banned various organisations and detained many leaders. Relative peace and calm was restored in 1978, but the spirit of uprising could not be quelled. It was not merely a matter of the Afrikaans language and the education system, but of the entire apartheid policy that was opposed (Cameron 1986: 307 – 308).

The event of 16 June was the final cause of determined resistance and led to organised guerrilla activities. Many young people left the country for other countries from where they returned as freedom fighters. The ANC through Umkhonto weSizwe encouraged internal unrest and carried out plans of sabotage and violence, which the "illegal apartheid- Government", in spite of moving to a totalitarian rule, could not defeat with whatever measures it took (Omer-cooper 1987: 224 – 226). It was then obvious, as written in the 1976 Annual Church Board Report of the MCSA, "majority rule is as certain to come in South Africa as it will come in Rhodesia and South West Africa. The how and when, however, will be determined by the time, a time which is quickly running out."⁴⁷⁰

6.4.3 The Churches' reaction

The Churches in opposition to apartheid saw the cause of the Soweto protests as apartheid itself (De Gruchy, 1979: 175). They regarded the escalation of violence as generated in varying degrees by the tactics of the police and the enforcement of security legislation. An interpretation of the riots on 21 June 1977 by Church leaders in the Greater Durban area bears testimony to this position:

⁴⁷⁰ Annual Church Board Report 1976.

We urge all our members to listen to the anguished plea of Black people which has so often gone unanswered and has now resulted in violence . . . we have little difficulty in understanding why such an explosion of rage has taken place . . . While we recognise that in any situation of violence irresponsible elements will be involved, we earnestly urge our members to take note of the deep groundswell of bitterness and resentment that exists among Black people throughout our country, and that can so easily be fanned into violence. If attention is not paid to well-known causes of that discontent, no amount of security legislation, repression, deportations, detentions or banning will give this country genuine and lasting peace.⁴⁷¹

The uprising of children throughout the country was addressed by the Fifth Synod of SAE held from 10 to 14 December 1976:

Synod wishes to express its sympathy with: all those who have lost their dear ones through violence; all those who are under detention and all those who have suffered and are suffering under all kinds of immoral activities. . . . Synod condemns violence whether institutionalised or not. It therefore calls upon powers that be to remove all the causes, which bring about shamed human relationships among the various population groups. It further supports all those who struggle to bring about peaceful change in the country. It also calls upon all its congregations to

⁴⁷¹ Ecunews, 1976: 8 in De Gruchy, 1979: 174.

support financially and morally the victims of the unrest through the Black Parents Association Fund.⁴⁷²

In connection with “forced removals” the Synod expressed “its concern on the removals of people from Humansdorp area to Keiskammahoek, and the refugees from the Herschel and Glen Grey districts. The South African Government’s Policy of apartheid had played off ‘two states’ of one ethnic group against the other. Synod condemns in the strongest terms the policy pursued by the SA Government which has caused untold suffering and loss of property” (Nielsen, 1999: 394).

6.5 The ideal of “An undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship”⁴⁷³ (1981 – 1994)

The 1980s saw the militarisation of the country and the increasing domination of the military and police forces in the day-to-day administration of affairs. The total strategy led to the establishment of the National Security Management System, which operated in secret and was answerable only to the State Security Council. As the situation in the country worsened, international protests, disinvestments and sanction campaigns increased and the value of the Rand dropped. The political and economic crisis thus intensified (cf. Thompson 1995: 221 – 240).

In this situation PW Botha attempted to win the Coloureds and Asians for the concept of a Tricameral Parliament. In August 1984 poorly attended elections were held for these two groups, and in September the new Constitution came into force. But this new parliament was established in vain and aggravated the situation in the country because the Africans had been excluded and under this system would never be included in a non-racial state (Thompson 1995: 225 – 230).

⁴⁷² Minutes of the 5th Synod of SAE, 1976.

⁴⁷³ Declaration of intent: Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), 20 December 1991.

The bitterness led to ever increasing violence. In 1985, a state of emergency was imposed, followed by another in 1986, which was eventually lifted in June 1990 in all areas except in strife-torn Natal. In the General Election of 1987, the Conservative Party became the official opposition (Thompson 1995: 229).

During these years, the unrest continued with strikes, worker stay-aways and demonstrations. The National Union of Mineworkers was founded in 1982, the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985. The many strikes (793 in 1986), sanctions, and disinvestments gradually destroyed the South African economy (Thompson 1995: 228 – 230).

In 1984, the Mixed Marriages Act was repealed, followed by the Pass Laws in 1985 and the Influx Control Act in 1986. However, the real process of reform first started when FW De Klerk succeeded Botha as Head of State in August 1989. During his four-and-a-half years as State President, he dismantled apartheid and the country was led to a multiracial democracy. In 1 October political prisoners were released, and in November the Separate Amenities Act was repealed (Thompson 1995: 226 – 227). On 2 February 1990, the ban against the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party was lifted, and on 11 February Nelson Mandela, the most prominent leader of the ANC, was released after 27 years imprisonment. The time had now come for negotiation and reconstruction. The first “talks about talks” began (Thompson 1995: 245 – 247).

In July 1991, the ANC held its First National Conference inside South Africa since its banning in 1960. Mandela was elected President of the ANC and Cyril Ramaphosa Secretary-General (Thompson 1995: 246 – 247). The Government repealed the Group Areas Act and state schools were opened to all (Thompson 1995: 245). On 20 December, the real negotiations started at the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at the World Trade Centre (Thompson 1995: 247). The Conservative Party and the PAC boycotted the meeting, but later joined the talks (Thompson 1995: 248). A Declaration of intent was signed which committed all parties involved “to bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship.”

However, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which was in favour of a federal system, did not sign. In 1975, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi founded the Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement. It later turned into a political party, the IFP. In the beginning, it was part of the broader liberation movement and worked closely with the ANC. However, later strong political differences estranged the ANC and IFP, which in the 1990s led to rivalry between the IFP, which was Zulu-oriented, and the ANC, which was Xhosa-dominated. In spite of many setbacks, even with a longer break in multiparty talks, the negotiations succeeded. Early in July 1993, the Negotiating Council decided that South Africa's first democratic elections are to be held on 27 April 1994. On 26 July, the first draft of the interim Constitution was tabled and on 18 November, it was approved. Provision was made for the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council consisting of representatives of all parties, which would watch the development up to the elections (Thompson 1995: 250 – 254).

The elections gave the ANC an almost two-thirds majority with 252 seats in the National Assembly. Of the other parties, the NP obtained 82 and the IFP 43 seats. The new parliament elected Nelson Mandela as the President of South Africa on 9 May and the following day the Inauguration Ceremony took place. Nelson Mandela was sworn in as the new President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki as the first and De Klerk as the second Deputy President (Thompson 1995: 254). In his speech, President Mandela said, "We have at last achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination. Never, never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one another."⁴⁷⁴

In 1994 the homelands were scrapped, and the territories of the national states, among them Transkei and Ciskei, were reincorporated into South Africa. In terms of the new Constitution, the original four provinces of South Africa disappeared and were replaced by nine new Provinces, among them the Eastern Cape Province into which Transkei and Ciskei (in which domains SAE operated as Church) were incorporated. The artificial

⁴⁷⁴ Mandela *Presidential inaugural address* in Daleen Zaaiman (Ed.) 1994 *Many Cultures One Nation*.

boundaries were abolished, and Transkei and Ciskei were again united within a greater Province of South Africa and under one State President (Thompson 1995: 260).

Having dealt with a chronological depiction of the main strands of apartheid and the reaction from the resistance and liberation movements against it until the final dismantling thereof in favour of a fully democratic state of South Africa in 1994, attention will be given to the Moravian Church's witness through its life, the pastoral letters and the synodal declarations in the face of its experience with apartheid as church.

6.6 The Moravian Church and its response to apartheid

6.6.1 The constitutional position of the Church

The Broederkerk that was faced with the onslaught of apartheid was a church that had just met the conditions laid down by the world body of the Moravian Unity. Under these strict conditions, despite the political White domination and oppression, especially in the economic sphere because of job-reservation, it had shown itself worthy to be a Unity Province as set out by the Church order of the *Unitas Fratrum* (COUF):

A Unity Province is one which has developed its spiritual, material and human resources to the point at which it can assume full responsibility for its own life and work, and can make an effective contribution to . . . the calls of the whole church . . . It orders its own affairs and holds and administers its property independently but subject to the general principles, which set the standard for the whole *Unitas Fratrum* . . . It is responsible to the Unity Synod for carrying out these general principles.

It supplies and sustains completely its own ministry irrespective of the race or colour of the individual minister . . .

It provides for the establishment and maintenance of

educational institutions including a theological seminary. Each Unity Province works for the extension of the Kingdom of God . . . It is fully self-supporting financially. *It has the responsibility of providing leadership in community, industrial and professional life, in meeting social problems, and in making positive contributions to the general welfare* (own Italics).⁴⁷⁵

This last part in italics is the actual essence of this research. This charge of the Church, given the oppressive conditions, was considered by the Unity Board as satisfactorily attended to at the time of granting Unity Province status to the Broederkerk. However, the 60s and 70s was also critical for the Church's self-understanding amongst its younger members in its configuration as public church in the political sphere. The expectation was that the Church should have gone more public with its announcements and that it should not have "hidden" under the cloak of the ecumenical bodies of which it was of course a member.

Another important factor in its resistance against apartheid is the theological foundation of the Broederkerk regarding the understanding of people and ethnic groups, which is grounded in its Church Order under section 1 where it deals with the *Unitas Fratrum*:

The Church of Jesus Christ, despite all the distinctions between male and female, Jew and other than Jew, white and coloured, poor and rich, is one in its Lord. The *Unitas Fratrum* recognises no distinction between those who are one in the Lord Jesus Christ. We are called to testify that God in Jesus Christ brings His *people out of every race, kindred and tongue* (own italics) into one body, pardons sinners beneath the Cross

⁴⁷⁵ COUF, 1998: 13, par. 7.

and brings them together. *We oppose any discrimination in our midst because of race or standing, and we regard it as a commandment of the Lord to bear public witness to this and to demonstrate by word and deed that we are brothers and sisters in Christ* (own italics).⁴⁷⁶

Having achieved this standard of being church and given its theological foundation regarding its Christian Anthropology, would it be able, given its small numbers and the restricted opportunities under apartheid, to stay true to its calling as church with regard to all the configuration as the public church?

6.6.2 The unpaid account of apartheid

As with all churches of the poor that had to live under apartheid, the cost for the Moravian Church can never only be counted in money or property. On the psychological and moral level there were the experiences of humiliation, deprivation, dehumanisation and rejection. On the political level, there were the branding of people as second or even third class citizens; the denial of political rights in one's country of birth; the forceful infringement of a person's freedom by banning, as suffered by Rev DM Wessels,⁴⁷⁷ or solitary confinement, like that imposed on Rev Chris Wessels,⁴⁷⁸ the harassment and torture of young members⁴⁷⁹ and certain ministers of the Church for

⁴⁷⁶ COUF, 1988: 13, par 7.

⁴⁷⁷ The well-respected leader of the Church (see KISS and K5 and PB) principal and minister, as well as community leader, DM Wessels, was banned and put under house arrest in 1962. Shortly before he was served with the banning order he also became leader of the Teachers League of South Africa in 1962. He was banned for 5 years.

⁴⁷⁸ Rev Christy BR Wessels was detained under the Internal Security Act in 1976 and in 1977 in solitary confinement under Sec. 6 of the Terrorism Act which meant Detention without Trial for 90 days during which he was tortured and interrogated in the worst imaginable way.

⁴⁷⁹ Elise Human married Theunissen, Desmond and Virginia Engel (haunted by the security police, could not stay at home for months); Paul, Rhoda and Rowena Joemath (house constantly raided, imprisoned with

information; and the division of people into opposing camps, that of collaborators and informers⁴⁸⁰ on the one hand, and on the other hand, those true to the cause. Suspicion, uncertainty and fear were the daily experience of the Church leaders at all levels. The PB and the ministers had to endure this uncertainty about whom amongst colleagues, Church councillors and the congregation may be spying and reporting to the “special branch” (security police) on the content of the sermons, meetings and announcements. The same was true at youth camps or other gatherings of the Church.

Apartheid was designed to systematically impoverish (economically, culturally and psychologically) the indigenous people and to keep the masses in a state of dependency, whilst the European’s *baasskap* (racial and economic supremacy) was entrenched. This fact led to the embarrassment of many ecumenical workers from overseas who, because they were ethno-European, automatically enjoyed first class privileges while they knew their brothers and sisters born in this country could not enjoy the same privileges. In many cases, the conscientious among them would rather forfeit and sacrifice certain cultural habits in solidarity with their indigenous colleagues. In some cases, the apartheid laws also served as an opportunity to defy injustice and to witness to Christian values by refusing to obey them in the presence of oppressed sisters and brothers.⁴⁸¹ In one case, an

daughter, a 15-year-old student leader); Berny Fortuin and Quiton Michaels (held under the Internal Security and Terrorism Acts) to name but a few. The Church, through its Board, ministers and congregations showed solidarity with them during their suffering by means of pastoral care and petitions (see minutes of the PB). All are still confessing Moravians.

⁴⁸⁰ Two members in his immediate surroundings admitted to the author that they had been informers. One, a ministerial student at the seminary who openly confessed that he was paid to spy on the author, and the other, a women in the congregation at the same time (1981 – 1988), who warned him that her husband was a member of the security police but that she had told him to leave him alone

⁴⁸¹ Rev. Wolfgang RK Schaefer really lived an exemplary life in this respect during his ministry in the Church (1971 – 1975).

ecumenical worker even left the country because he did not want his children to be exposed to the brainwashing of *baasskap* (the superior status of a European in relation to an indigenous person).⁴⁸²

Apartheid's effect on the Church and its members was demoralising and in the process, many members were lost to the Church because of the uprooting and resettlement of people, as well as migrant labour and the destabilising effect it had on family and community life.⁴⁸³

Apartheid forced the Church to apply for permits for its ministers to stay in certain areas; others had to live outside their parishes and could not easily be reached by the poor congregates, which hampered pastoral work. At times ministers would refuse to apply for permits and would simply live in the areas. However, it has to be stated that such a person to the embarrassment of his family could be served with an eviction order from the magistrate, who could result into being forcefully evicted by the police and personal belongings put on the street.

In SAE, the situation was just as unsettling: people were forced into homelands that divided one Xhosa nation into two states, Ciskei and Transkei, while one congregation in Umbali, Pietermaritzburg fell within KwaZulu. The people were not consulted in a national memorandum. The apartheid government found its collaborating chiefs to work the system. The Church then had to deal with four administrations for there were also congregations in towns like Port Elizabeth, Durban, PieterMaritzburg, Johannesburg and Cape Town. Travel documents were now needed to travel to congregations and church meetings. The administration of property became complicated. Fortunately, the two provinces could assist each other

⁴⁸² Rev. now Bishop H. Schlimm in a personal interview with the author in 1970.

⁴⁸³ Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 140) depict apartheid as many-headed monster with all its detrimental effects on church work and the proclamation of the Gospel.

when the need arose. The Church Board and the Synod had to be very careful when it came to political issues regarding any one of the three independent homeland states, as the Moravian Church in SAE is a church dominated by Xhosa-speaking members. In essence, nobody wanted a homeland but it was a political reality and an issue that the political leaders in the respective homelands were very sensitive about.

The loss of property through the expropriation of whole established church complexes by means of the Group Areas Act, and the resultant uprooting and disintegration of congregations and whole established communities, caused the Church immense financial loss, hardship and bitterness. The cost of energy, human resources and money that had to be reorganised and mustered to organise the poor people to form new congregations and to erect new buildings is immeasurable.⁴⁸⁴ Even the compensation paid by the State for land and buildings was quite low and was certainly not enough to pay for the replacement of the lost facilities at the various places where the members had to settle. The Church was burdened with unnecessary expenditure, not to mention the difficulty of finding plots suitably situated and big enough for the requirements of the Church. It was a bitter irony that a government department euphemistically called "Community Development" implemented all these measures.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 140) state that the poor were moved out of towns and villages into stark housing schemes on the outskirts of towns and villages. It took years before the well to do among them could raise the money to buy a house in better areas. People were forced to spend a great deal of money and time on busses and trains in order to get to and from work, which led to the social dilemma of the "key-children", children without parents from 06h00 till 19h00 every day from Monday to Friday. That is why crèches became so important for the little ones, while the older ones carried the key in order to get into the house after school, which caused other social problems in the townships especially among the teenagers, like early pregnancy and drug abuse.

⁴⁸⁵ August 1980, Cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 141.

The initial thrust of apartheid removals hit the SAW church: 5 main stations (congregations) disappeared, viz. Moravian Hope, Fairview, Ebenezer in Port Elizabeth, Goodwood and Moravian Hill⁴⁸⁶ in Cape Town. Maitland and Steenberg were still in danger in 1990 because they were situated on the buffer strip.⁴⁸⁷

Unfortunately, the impact of apartheid grew even stronger after 1960. As for the Fingo congregations in the Tzitzikamma, the uncertainty of whether and when they would be moved hung over them. In 1977, they were told to be ready to move to Keiskammahoek, 320km to the east. Thus with Wittekleibosch, a sixth main station was lost through apartheid. As there were no means of subsistence at the new place, many were directly forced into the immoral system of migrant labour for many kept on working at their secure jobs at the sawmills of the Tzitzikamma, to the detriment of their families back home.⁴⁸⁸

6.6.3 The Welfare Work of the Broederkerk

Before 1960, the available money was hardly sufficient to support and to extend the preaching and teaching of the Gospel in Church and school. Charitable work on behalf of the community and society at large could not

⁴⁸⁶ Fortunately the buildings of the Church and the manse could be saved. For more information on the forced removals in District 6 where 60,000 people had been forcefully evacuated, see August 1980 *Ons Katedraal in die Moederstad*; Cf. Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 157. The issue of Land Restitution and Land Claim will be further discussed in Ch. 6.

⁴⁸⁷ Where there was no railway track or a natural river, the government wanted to erect a kind of buffer zone that had to remain empty between the racial group areas. There were also uncertainty about Lansdowne, but it was spared being uprooted. Maybe some "group-agent", as these officials from the Department of Community Development were dejectedly named, went to investigate and discovered that there was already a railway line dividing the two areas. Today Steenberg and Maitland are no longer endangered due to the new democratic dispensation.

⁴⁸⁸ Today many people are back in the Tzitzikamma due to the Land Restitution Act. This will be discussed further under the 'Land Restitution and Land Claim' in Chapter 6.

be considered in earnest, nor could the living conditions on the old mission stations be much improved. The contributions of the members were not sufficient to achieve all the desired aims (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 158). After 1960 with grand apartheid's job-reservation, expropriation and forced removals, and with a membership of whom 80% was working class, money was not readily available. Then the ecumenical Church stepped in, money was made available from churches such as the South West German Churches of Württemberg, Baden, Hessen, Pfalz without any conditions. Some of these churches later formed the "Evangelisches Missionswerk Südwestdeutschland" (EMS), together with the Continental Province of the Moravian Church and some indigenous churches in former missionfields, like the Broederkerk (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 158 – 160).

EMS, besides donating money for particular projects, helped to find and pay fraternal workers from Europe as requested by the Broederkerk, and tried to strengthen contacts with friends of mission work. Furthermore, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) supported congregations that were affected by apartheid measures. The Deutsche Frauen Missionsgebetsbund (DFMGB) assisted the Bible Institute in Strand and the Moravian Church Foundation supported theological education (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 158 – 160).

Earmarked money for approved social work came from organisations such as "Dienste in Übersee", "Brot für die Welt" and the "Kulturfonds" of the German government. With some of the money from these sources, the Church systematically extended its welfare work. In five congregations, poli-clinic buildings were erected, served by district and community nurses. In the same year, the first of four crèches was established for the children of working mothers. School feeding programmes were instituted from time to time, especially at the small boarding facilities at outstations. Kurt Bonk established the biggest charitable undertaking, a home for young mentally

and physically challenged children at Elim in 1966.⁴⁸⁹ Quite another type of welfare work was the establishment of a hostel for single labourers in Bosmont, Johannesburg by Roland Baudert in 1972 (Krüger and Schaberg 1984: 158 – 160).

Money was also applied for the improvement of the living conditions in the rural settlements. Agriculture was improved: Fences were erected and implements bought for Karwyderskraal, Clarkson, Enon etc. Water systems were installed in the streets of Elim, Clarkson, Goedverwacht and Wittewater. “Bröt für die Welt” granted some of this aid because the Church argued that water and bread belonged together as the most basic means of subsistence. “Dienste in Übersee” was the agency which found fraternal workers for all kinds of church activities and who found an experienced manager for the modernisation of the mission press in Genadendal, in the person of Hans Ottlik. With the aid of other donors new printing presses and new equipment could be bought, which enabled the Genadendal Printing Press under James Adonis, a church member, to print commercially (Krüger and Schaberg 1991: 160).

The Broederkerk could never have withstood the pressure of apartheid in the way it did without the financial and spiritual assistance of these churches and organisations.

6.6.4 An Autonomous Church needs self-reliance and self-confidence

With regard to self-reliance and self-confidence, the Church always had the people and the potential as Hallbeck had pointed out (Krüger, 1966: 180, 300). This is further borne out by the reactions and rebellion against the autocratic rule of the missionaries⁴⁹⁰ in various mission stations in the earlier

⁴⁸⁹ At the time of its opening it was the only home of its kind in the country for Coloured children.

⁴⁹⁰ At the General Mission Conference in 1900 it became clear that Hennig was already aware at that time that the cause of the rebellion was due to the neglect of representation of the congregations in the

years. It came strongly to the fore during the Anglo-Boer War and after WW I in 1922 and at the Elim Synod in 1930.⁴⁹¹ In this respect, it can be argued that the delay in establishing an indigenous Synod for more than 20 years and the retardation in training more indigenous ministers regularly⁴⁹² were due to the wilful paternalistic attitude of the missionaries at the time.⁴⁹³ Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 161), although in a very generalised way, have to admit that: "Missionaries of all missionary societies often found it difficult to avoid being paternalistic . . . the converts from the heathen have frequently been treated like children by *benevolent* (own italics) patriarchal missionaries."

However, it needs also to be stated that in the course of mission history, members of the Moravian Mission Board and some missionaries in the field from time to time fought against undue paternalism, encouraged by many progressive, indigenous ministers. This is also borne out by this study. As the number of fraternal workers⁴⁹⁴ from overseas diminished after 1960, a growing number of ministers and lay members of congregations showed a calm self-confidence and were prepared to take over more and more

management of their own affairs (Hennig's Proposal to the General Mission Conference, 1900: 10 – 17 in Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 66).

⁴⁹¹ See Dietrich's critical contribution to the Mission Conference in 1913 (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 92)

⁴⁹² Dietrich criticised the missionaries by stating that "only six ministers had been ordained in SAW since the establishment of the Training School in 1849 . . . and that no theological class had been held at the Training School in Genadendal for the last couple of years."

⁴⁹³ There is the strong indication that the Unity Synod was not so satisfied with the developments in South Africa. Buchner, the chairperson of the Mission Board who personally visited the whole mission field, was of the opinion "that it was about time that full-time SA ministers should be trained to replace the missionaries." "But the Helper Conference considered such a step premature." (Krüger and Schaberg, 1984: 48)

⁴⁹⁴ This concept was also introduced in the Church as a measure of self-awareness and the emancipation of not being a mission-run church anymore. No more shall those Europeans from overseas be referred to as missionaries but as fraternal workers. The Church welcomes and appreciates the co-operation with the sister churches from overseas but then as partners.

responsibilities. In 1969 at its Synod in Bonteheuwel the Broederkerk elected its first bishop,⁴⁹⁵ in the person of Bernhard Krüger, the last of the expatriates. The chair of the Provincial Board was taken over by August W Habelgaarn, who became the first indigenous superintendent of the Broederkerk and later its first indigenous Bishop (1976). Habelgaarn also became the chairperson of the Unity Synod, which was held in Jamaica in 1974. Since the Maitland Synod, the Board consists fully of indigenous South African church workers. By 1980, all the responsibility for the Broederkerk was in the hands of South African ministers. However, the Provincial Board from time to time deliberately requested fraternal workers from overseas as a witness in the apartheid context that co-operation among different race groups was quite possible in the Church.

That the Broederkerk had the potential and initiative to organise itself as far as the life and witness of the Church to its interior and its immediate exterior environment were concerned is self-evident if the different organisations and movements in the Church at the time are taken into consideration:

- The Moravian Sunday School Union (MSUSA) started in 1942 by two lay people⁴⁹⁶ is a lay movement run by members of the Church. During the apartheid era it had 7 000 children, with about 50 branches in all congregation, and 418 teachers. It regularly organised workshops for its teachers (418) and camps for the seniors and junior Sunday school children. It used the most contemporary Christian education material.⁴⁹⁷ It had congregational, district and synodal representation.

⁴⁹⁵ Until then, all bishops including Schaberg, were appointed by the Unity Board and consecrated overseas. In the election of Krüger, who was an expatriate, the electorates' disposition still shows the pietistic respect for the senior who deserves to be elected although there were very capable indigenous people, but the electorate was not yet prepared for such a drastic change.

⁴⁹⁶ The Founding of MSUSA is ascribed to R Balie and A Habelgaarn at a time when they were still teachers.

⁴⁹⁷ In the 70s within the context of the then FELCSA, the Broederkerk members, because of their experience and skills, engaged in designing and developing Sunday School syllabi for all age groups and

- The Moravian Youth Union of SA (MYUSA) stems from 1958 and is well organised throughout the Church. At least every main congregation has a youth association, which accounts for a membership of 2000 in the Church as a whole. They are organised on district regional and national level and enjoy representation at district and at synodal level.
- The Brass Band Union of the Moravian Church in SA (BBSA). The first brass band work started already in the Training School by the turn of the 18th century and was carried into the various regions of the Church by the teachers. With the assistance of at first the European Continental Province the first congregational bands could be equipped with brass instruments and later on through established links in Europe. Established in 1951,⁴⁹⁸ they just celebrated their golden jubilee in 2002 with a mass brass band choir of 500 members. Through the work of the Brass Band Union, supported by the Executive of the Church, poor children and people with a minimum qualification could have access to musical instruments. Whereas in the beginning only men would join the brass band, today women are equally active in the brass band union. Since the 70s this organisation has built links with various brass band choirs throughout Germany and the Netherlands, which they sustain by regular reciprocal visits.
- The Moravian Church Choir Union (MCUSA) is organised around the liturgies and choir music of the Moravian Church.⁴⁹⁹ Regular workshops are organised by the executive to upgrade the music standards of the

writing lesson material under the renown Christian educationist of the LWF, Herb Schaefer, and a Moravian, Blanche August (nee Saville) acted as the editor of the series 'Living in the Right Relations.' These materials are still widely used in the Lutheran churches in LUCSA.

⁴⁹⁸ RI Balie and his brother M Balie played a leading role in establishing this organisation.

⁴⁹⁹ Rev. H. S. Ulster who was one of the "tone setting" indigenous church music pioneers was later succeeded by his son Dan Ulster, who together with J. Avontuur, E. Williams, J (Hansie Petersen), Mervyn Kroneberg, John Lawack and others played a momentous roles in the establishment and development of MCUSA.

members and the local choirs. Regular choir music festivals are organised in the town halls of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.⁵⁰⁰

- The Woman's Organisation (MWUSA), founded mainly by indigenous women,⁵⁰¹ is by far one of the strongest movements in the Church. They have no problem in assembling 600 to 1000 women only in one region. When they have a national convention they have to restrict the numbers to three representatives per association. The role of women in decision-making has gained momentum since the 70s. Issues that are regularly debated are women's rights, violence against women, and the position of women in society and in the Church. Regular programmes are conducted to educate, train and conscientise women. They are well connected with women movements throughout the country and in the world. After the Lutheran World Federation conference in Caratuba in the 80s, the Church has consciously followed the directive that in all representation at least 40% of women should be present. The women in the Moravian Church have taken up leadership positions in all spheres and on all levels of the Church – on the level of the local church council,⁵⁰² on the district level and on synodal level.⁵⁰³ At the moment a woman is the president of the Moravian Church in SA.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ Of late, the Rev. H. Holy has played a major role in organising the choirs of districts 7 – 11 with Shilo as their centre.

⁵⁰¹ The Women's movement, originally called Moravian Sisters Union of SA, now Moravian Womens Union of SA (MWUSA), was founded by Molly Habelgaarn, Poppie Weber, Christel Saville, Dollie Balie and Elfrieda Schaberg.

⁵⁰² Women have equal say with men in the Church council. In some congregations two separate candidature lists are drawn up for elections with an equal number of seats for both genders. But the contemporary practice has evolved to one list irrespective of gender.

⁵⁰³ FM Goliath was elected onto the executive of the Church in 1992 and as vice-president of Synod in 1992. She also served on the SACC and the WCPCC.

⁵⁰⁴ Angeline R Swart was elected as vice-president of the Church in 1998 (cf. Minutes of 2nd Provincial Synod) and as president in 2001 (Cf. Minutes of the 3rd Provincial Synod).

- The work among the men at the time was not as well organised in the Church. However, in the Port Elizabeth area this organisation was very strong in taking initiative and was responsible for most of the evangelistic outreach along what was known as the Cape Road and the new extensions in Port Elizabeth.⁵⁰⁵ In Cape Town a few congregations like Moravian Hill (later Lansdowne) had a strong “Mannebond” in its Jakkalsvlei congregation, lay people that organised themselves and established a congregation that later on resulted in the Bridgetown congregation.⁵⁰⁶ Today they are organised in the national body, Moravian Brothers Union of SA (MBUSA), as strong and active as any other organisation in the Church, with associations in every congregation. In this organisation there is still room for upgrading the agenda to include issues of the day so that the men, through the organised work, can become a social force, instead of being concerned about building the organisation through personal evangelism.
- The Moravian Brigades Union of SA (MOBRASA). This is a lay movement that involves the ministers as chaplains of the local battalion. The girls and boys are taught various skills and disciplines, and it is not a military organisation. Moravians from this movement, like Brother Samuel Abrahams, has served as national leaders of the Boys Brigade South Africa, which is a non-racial movement with international links.
- The Christian Education Department⁵⁰⁷ of the Moravian Church is a national organisation, organised on regional, district and local level. It pays attention

⁵⁰⁵ The Fairview congregation had brothers like Berties Hendricks, who with others did wonderful expansion work on the Cape Road. From Salem, the brothers launched into new areas on Sunday to evangelise the people.

⁵⁰⁶ Dedicated leaders in this context were Christlief Abels, Louis October, Dan Ganger, Boetie Groenewald and Arendse.

⁵⁰⁷ This essential work (equipping the laity cf. Eph. 4: 12) received a new impetus in the 70s when it was launched as the Gemeente Opleiding tot Diens (G.O.D) or the Christian Education program. The then superintendent, AW Habelgaarn, teasingly remarked when he launched the program: “now we are turning the Church upside down”, meaning that they were moving away from the hierarchical and autocratic structure that had been inherited from the missionaries. “From below” would be the approach from then on

to various topics as part of the continuous education of the Church member. In this it works in close association with the Theological Seminary and the Provincial Board within the Church, but also with agencies outside like para-church organisations. Today it has programmes like HIV/AIDS, Voter Education, Unemployment etc.

- In 1978, the theological training and formation of the ministers and Christian education were also in the hands of indigenous theologians in the persons of ABC Habelgaarn and KTh August when they were called to plan the new theological and lay training formation for the Church.⁵⁰⁸ Because of the financial position of the Church at the time, both were also attached to congregations as minister-responsible-for-the-administration of the station. It was also during the 80s that the seminary became the major centre for structural change in the Church as both Habelgaarn and August were members of the Commission for Structural Change (KIS).⁵⁰⁹ Since 1988, the seminary director became a full-time appointment when August became the director.⁵¹⁰ In this time the seminary took on an ecumenical character after August had become the regional co-ordinator of Theological Education by Extension (TEE) programme with the Theological Centre as base. Through TEE ministerial candidates from most denominations came into contact with the Centre through the director and the library. An agreement was entered into with the Anglican Church for the local training of some of its ministerial

- the empowerment through training of the people of God for their full involvement in all the decision making structures of the Church; away from a clergy-orientated Church to a people-orientated Church.

⁵⁰⁸ This phase of theological training started in Moravian Hill in 1979 and moved to Maitland in 1980. From there it moved to Heideveld when the Theological Centre was completed. It was purposefully called a Centre because two streams of formation took place on the premises: The training of ministerial candidates and the equipping of lay people through Christian Education. Habelgaarn was succeeded by EM Temmers as director; and when last-named became bishop, he was succeeded by K Th August in 1988.

⁵⁰⁹ KIS: Kommissie Insaake Strukture (Commission for Structural Change).

⁵¹⁰ August's position as secretary of the Board, with the portfolio of theological education, streamlined the procedural aspect, which resulted in the rapid ecumenical development of the Centre and the establishment of strong ecumenical relations.

candidates in Cape Town⁵¹¹ and to also use the Centre as base for the co-ordination of its candidates once a month. In this way the library was extended with TEE and Anglican books. Rev Stubbs (the Dean of Studies of the Anglican Church at the time) also joined the teaching staff for New Testament studies. Use was also made of theologians from other confessions in and around Cape Town, some from the University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town, to teach at the Centre. Other Churches like the Independent Apostolic Church of Africa (an African Independent Church), the Presbyterian Church of Africa, the Rhenish Church, the Volkskerk of Africa, as well as the Independent Order of Ethiopia, sent their students to the Centre for theological training because they regarded the training as of a high standard. Under August's leadership, agreements had been entered into with the University of the Western Cape (UWC), University of Cape Town (UCT) and Stellenbosch Universities whereby the Moravian students after their licentiate studies (5years) could directly enrol for a Masters in Theology. Other students with a three-year diploma could enter into a Post-Graduate Diploma (at Stellenbosch) or an Honours degree (at UWC and UCT) that could give them access to a Masters. The Centre has retained its membership of the Joint Board for Theology of South Africa (Joint Board) and the Association of South African Theological Institutes (ASSATI) and, through ASSATI, of the Council of African Theological Institutes (CATI). Strong theological relations could also be established with the African Desk of the Lutheran World Federation under the leadership of Dr Y Irene in the field of theological training in Africa and with the African Desk of the World Council of Churches under Prof. John Pobee in the field of Theological Education by Extension in Africa.⁵¹² In these ways the Centre and theological formation in the Moravian Church played a public role throughout the 80s and into the 90s. Central to its ministerial formation

⁵¹¹ The Centre for Theological Training (Transfiguration College) of the Church of the Province (Anglican) is in Grahamstown.

⁵¹² See PB, and Synodal Reports of the Theological Centre.

was the theological principle of Liberation theology, African Theology, Development Theology and Feminist Theology.⁵¹³

As theological training was one of the joint ventures of the Moravian Church in South Africa, the joint theological training was resumed in the 80s with two students from SAE, Msi and Ndlela, enrolling at the seminary. To enforce equality between the sexes in theological training, the Bible Institute, which served for the training of women church workers, was closed and the training integrated. Thus the first full-time women (4)⁵¹⁴ started their theological training at the seminary in 1989 and a woman was appointed as vice-director in the person of Angeline Swart, a lay theologian. AR Swart succeeded August in 1994 as the first female indigenous director of the seminary.⁵¹⁵

6.6.5 The Response by the Church's Authority Structures

6.6.5.1 *Polity Changes: The Spirit of Emancipation*

At its 1980 Synod at Elim the Church came to a watershed decision when it decided to democratise the Church according to the needs of its members and as a witness in the South African context.⁵¹⁶ Until then the structures

⁵¹³ These students (C. Titus, R Petrus, S Dampies, A Michaels, R Michaels ect.), similar to the students of the seventies, played a major role in providing the theological rational for MYUSA at the Year Camps as well as in the leadership. In the 70s MM October, P Joemath, D Engel and K Th August played leading roles in Bible Studies and leadership in MYUSA from the perspective of Black Consciousness, Black Theology and Liberation Theology. Both October and August were members of the University Christian Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement. In the 70s August in his theological formative years was also a member of the Inter-seminary Movement (strongly under the influence of African Theology) which met on the premises of the Federal Seminaries at Alice before the Fedsem was forcibly uprooted and had to move to Imbali (near Pietermaritzburg) in the then Kwazulu homeland (also here the Fedsemi was closed down in the 80s under strain from the apartheid regime).

⁵¹⁴ Rosell Petrus, Anna Michaels, Senobia Dampies and Pieters. Of the four only Pieters did not complete the course.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Seminary report for 1994.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Minutes of the Regional Synod, 1980.

were in many ways still a reflection of the mission era. The Church was too top-down and minister-oriented, which gave way to neo-patrimonialism and elitism.⁵¹⁷ The title of “superintendent” was too hierarchically operative in decision-making, which cut against the grain of the Moravian spirit of brotherhood in polity and policy and the doctrine of the Chief Eldership of Christ.⁵¹⁸ A Commission for structural change (Kommissie in Sake Strukture)⁵¹⁹ was instituted to report at the Mamre Synod in 1984 in order to effect the writing of a new church order.⁵²⁰

The Mamre Synod instituted a Church Order Commission, which was assigned the task⁵²¹ of revising and renewing the Church Order. The

⁵¹⁷ Cf. Gifford, P. 1998. *African Christianity Its Public Role*. London: Hurst and Company. Patrimonialism, as the name implies, is based on the kind of authority a father has over his children. Hence, those lower in the hierarchy are not subordinate officials with defined powers and functions of their own, but retainers whose position depends on a leader to whom they owe allegiance. The system is held together by loyalty or kinship ties rather than by a hierarchy of administrative grades and function (Cf. Max Weber's authority types in Gifford 1998; Cf. Sandbrook, Richard 1985. *The politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation*. Cambridge University Press, 42 - 62).

⁵¹⁸ Although in a certain sense this doctrine places too much emphasis on the automatic leadership of Christ which makes nonsense of administration, it is nevertheless very revolutionary in essence as it goes against any executive position of the Bishop or a hierarchical autocratic leadership such as the development of the office of superintendent in the mission field. This doctrine also carries the realisation that no one person can run the Church of Christ and that shared leadership in service of the people of God under the Lordship of Christ is the basic disposition of the leadership. Therefore the slogan, *for and on behalf of the Church*, became the guarding principle of Moravian leaders.

⁵¹⁹ Members of the Commission were (the late) Z Joorst, ABC Habelgaarn, CBR Wessels and K Th August

⁵²⁰ During the session of the Mamre Synod a Committee was instituted to effect the decisions of Synod regarding the constitutional changes. The members were JJ Ulster, J Swart and KTh August. Ulster played a strategic role at Synod in the face of a power block, due to the envy of specific personalities, in facilitating the positive acceptance of the report of KIS and in moving Synod to accept the democratic principles of devolution of power and the implementation of departments, viz. the Youth, Welfare, Christian Education (G.O.D), Finance and Music Departments.

⁵²¹ The members of the Church Order Commission were amongst others FM Goliath (secretary), J Swart, JH Kroneberg and K Th August (chairperson and editor). This Green Church Order, the first produced by

principle on which the new polity would be based was shared leadership on all levels of church governance, devolution of power to a structure of departments and the demarcation of the Church into districts to ensure representation on all levels of decision-making, i.e. national (Synod), regional (district) and local (congregation). The laity had to have full representation on all levels of church governance, which was a deliberate policy decision to move away from the clergy-centred church polity.⁵²² On district Christian Education (CE) level 5 representatives from across the congregation had to represent the congregation where matters ranging from ecumenical, church governance, politics, health to economics may be discussed. The districts would meet every second month and the representation might range from 20 to 60 people at a meeting depending on the size of the district.

This structural change served the purpose of stemming the tide of patrimonialism, elitism, clique forming and power struggle, which was subversively operative in the Broederkerk at the time and which at times threatened to retard the development and hamper the spirituality of the Church.⁵²³ Through the new structures the horizontal participatory base of

indigenous people for indigenous conditions with a liberal democratic principle was accepted by the 1988 Galvendale Synod. It incorporated all decisions taken from the 1966 Goedverwacht till the Mamre Synod. It served also to a large extent as framework for the Church Order of the United Church in 1998.

⁵²² In a definite sense these district CE (G.O.D) structures in the SAW and the Districts in SAE prepared the Church for full lay participation and for readily accepting the new structures for unity in 1998.

⁵²³ Already in Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 163) it becomes apparent that they were fully aware of this atmosphere, because they insinuated that such a spirit was prevalent amongst the indigenous workers, even in the period leading up to 1980. Another surmised divisive factor was the different political persuasions operative in the Church amongst the elite, which divided especially the teachers into two camps. That of TEPA (The Teachers Professional Association) which stood for pragmatic co-operation for change within the structures, which at times, at least in the public opinion, would create the impression that they were collaborating with the government. On the other hand the TLSA (The Teacher's League of South Africa), which stood for non-collaboration with the Apartheid government, was also outspokenly critical of the government through its official organ, which was printed at the Moravian Printing works at Genadendal

the Church was broadened and the vertical apex of management lowered, which resulted in a bottom-up, people-centred, participatory model of church governance.⁵²⁴

6.6.5.2 *The Pastoral Letters*

The Church in its response to Apartheid took its clearest theological stance by means of the pastoral letters that it publicly sent to all its congregations and ecumenical partners, as well as to the government.⁵²⁵ An investigation of this practice is thus appropriate. From 1976 till 1989 altogether nine Pastoral letters were circularised. The first came from the Provincial Board of SAW in October 1976, in which the causes which gave rise to the Soweto school children protest in June were ascribed to discriminatory legislation and the quest to bring about change: “the government’s refusal to grant full and non-discriminatory citizenship to South Africans who are born here and known as Asians, Africans and Coloureds. These conditions . . . hinder the Church in its task of bringing about reconciliation and in building a community that lives before God in brotherly love and equality of status.”

and widely read in the Church. However, the phenomenon of the opposing camps were not at all times experienced as negative because the tension between the two camps, and also the critical political boldness of the TLSA, helped to educate the membership in developing a balanced political view in a season of political dryness.

⁵²⁴ This model of church life and governance was inspired by Ephesians 4: 11 – 16 (:12 “to equip God’s people for works of service”). Offices of leadership in the Church are for and on behalf of this purpose. This is also the text on the wall plaque of the theological centre, which is a liberating theological principle for church leadership in relation to the membership. In this respect the Broederkerk developed a radical ecclesiology, which also reflected the spirit of the time after 1976 and 1984. See also Addendum on the organogram and the determinants of structure, conflict management and power structures.

⁵²⁵ The Pastoral Letters were sent to explain the Church’s position theologically to the pastors and the congregations with regard to political or social issues. They are mostly sent from a Synod or the Provincial Board or the Bishops, but can also be sent from a ministers conference. During the pastoral letter period in the 80s, the Rev. Martin Wessels was the Chairperson of the Moravian Church Board and also of LUCSA – the Lutheran communion in SA, a factor that further empowered the Church in its public role.

The Synod appealed in this letter to the government to bring about change that would lead to a just and peaceful society. It at the same time strongly protested against the imprisonment of Rev. CBR Wessels and rejected the law that made it possible that a person can be interned without due process of legal hearing. This law is in contradiction to the Biblical understanding of human worth and human rights: "It clashes head-on with the Bible's conception of justice."⁵²⁶

Another pastoral letter followed in May 1980 and only after three years, in August 1983, the Regional Board of SAW reacted to the new political dispensation in South Africa. In the Pastoral Letter the Board stated that the tri-cameral system was no real reform and that it only perpetuated the entrenched ideology of oppression.⁵²⁷ In May 1984, the "Message to our members regarding Resettlement" appeared. In this letter the politics of separate development and the practice of forced removals, which took away South African citizenship from people and forced upon them the citizenship of a homeland, were addressed. The result of this political uprooting broke up family life and resulted in unemployment and poverty. The members were advised to witness against the injustices "as our Christian consciousness lead us to in a responsible manner" and to declare our solidarity with those that have been uprooted. The uprooting of 400 member families from Tsitsikamma, Wittekleibosch and Dorieskraal, to Keiskammahoek affected the Church deeply.

In the following pastoral letter of August 1985, the issue of the Declaration of the State of Emergency (July 1985) and the accompanying persecution, imprisonment and killing of innocent people at protest gatherings were taken up. Mostly schoolchildren and students fell prey to the state machinery. The Board requested the members to write letters to the state-

⁵²⁶ Statement issued by the Moravian Church Synod, 1976: 15f.

⁵²⁷ Pastoral letter of the Moravian Church in South Africa (SAW), August 1983.

President petitioning him to end the State of Emergency and to free those that were unjustly imprisoned as the State of Emergency held no possibility for a peaceful solution of the crisis in the country.

The Pastoral letter of April 1986 reacted to the renewed flaring up of violence and of the sharpening of the crisis. The themes of the Letter were the problem in education and the increasing polarisation of Blacks and Whites by means of the escalating violence. The polarisation was due to the disturbed human relations, which were brought about by the Group Areas Act. If it were not for the Group Areas Act, human relations could have been improved by interaction, which could have led to improved race-relations. In this Letter apartheid as the cause of the violence is condemned. The 76-year-old Oscar Mpetha,⁵²⁸ who was a member and had been imprisoned since 1980 because he had played a leading role in the Anti-apartheid struggle, was named in the Letter. In the Letter, the membership is directly confronted with the fact that the MCSA is called up "to remember in prayer and give the necessary support to those who suffer because of detention, e.g. Oscar Mpetha . . . and other political prisoners."

Two years later the Pastoral Letter of March 1988 reflected a change in the reaction to apartheid politics. From then on it was no longer merely about a verbal rejection, but a call to the members to revert to non-violent action. "We believe words are not sufficient, condemnation is not enough, action of a non-violent nature has become necessary." The Board appealed to the members to "work for a democratic, non-racial, free South Africa" and called upon them "to demonstrate in their lives their abhorrence of violence,

⁵²⁸ Oscar Mpetha was not only active in resistance activities, but was also the chairperson of the ANC in the Western Cape. His election as one of the three presidents of the UDF is an acknowledgement and honouring of his person. Mpetha was only released after the September 1989 elections (together with Walter Sisulu) as an 80-year-old, very sick person. The Pastoral Letter (Dec. 1986:3) demanded that he be allowed "to live the rest of his life in peace."

injustice and oppression.” The importance of a personal commitment to this process is stressed. “We should initiate programmes for bringing people together and discuss personal and group divisions.”⁵²⁹

In September of the same year the clearest theological statement against apartheid appeared.⁵³⁰ This Pastoral Letter declared that “separation caused between people is in contradiction with the Will of God. In this way man also separates himself from God, this division is called sin in the Bible.” The message reached its climax in the statement: “Apartheid is sin!” However, Synod went further in acknowledging its own “sin in the participation of the human despising dispensation”, which was conducted on the separation of people “based on the colour of their skin or their socio-cultural backgrounds.” However “we distanced ourselves against such discrimination of people based on class, race or any other artificial group-divisions.” The existence of the apartheid-system is declared demonic: People are often “taken possession of by powers of darkness” and the apartheid-system is one such power.

The Synod was of the opinion that the general elections of October 1988 were further efforts to deepen the entrenchment of apartheid. The Synod identified itself “without reservation” with the SACC Standing for the Truth Campaign in “solidarity with the Churches that fight against apartheid and in obedience to the Lord.”

The last Pastoral Letter in this regard dates from October 1989. It dealt in the most detailed and clearest manner with the effect of apartheid on the situation in the country.⁵³¹ Poverty, unemployment and the education-crisis were identified as important concerns. Apart from these issues, the letter

⁵²⁹ Pastoral Letter, March 1988: 20.

⁵³⁰ Pastoral Letter of the 10 Synod SAW to the congregations, Sept/Oct. 1988.

⁵³¹ Pastoral Letter, October, 1989.

dealt with the parliamentary election that took place in September. The Board made it clear that it did not approve of the “reform of apartheid” as it came to effect in the tri-cameral parliament and the elections: “the Black people cannot yet vote and thereby 80% of the population is excluded by the voting for the tri-cameral system.” The government refused to admit that the tri-cameral system enshrined white privileges and still clung to colonial and white supremacy politics. It is therefore clear that the government did not enjoy the voluntary majority that the sovereign law demanded to govern a country.⁵³²

6.6.5.3 *The Moravian Church in relation to the Ecumenical Public Witness*

i) The Standing for the Truth Campaign

When the Synod in 1988 embarked on the Campaign of the SACC of Standing for the Truth, all the congregations, the ministers, the organisations and the members were called upon to act on this decision. Various programmes were launched throughout the Church, in the form of information sheets, placards, sermons, and Bible studies. Special articles were continuously run in the *Huisvriend*, the official magazine of the Church. A whole church, ministers and lay people alike, had to be educated to come to the implications of the Biblical Truth for the socio-political reality. There were members that were indifferent, other were apolitical, some were politically confused, others were supporters of the status quo, while a growing number, especially amongst the youth, were active supporters of the UDF and the ANC, while others again were simply confessing Christians who lived their faith publicly. A group of young members, who called themselves the *Concerned Christians*,⁵³³ was

⁵³² Thus it stated openly that the government is an illegal government by universal democratic standards. This laid the basis for civil disobedience, the boycott of the elections, for sanctions against SA, as well as the call for and participation in demonstrations.

⁵³³ This small group of 15 came into existence in 1983 as a reaction against the tri-cameral system and they strove to educate the members concerning the “cosmetic changes”.

commissioned by the Regional Board on their request to officially enhance the Campaign in the Church. In their youthful enthusiasm, and with their Christian and political conviction for the cause, they arranged a public service throughout the Church for the campaign on 12 November 1989 and spent their time in confronting the congregations with *the truth*. Throughout the campaign, the members were confronted with the sin of quietism and lethargy, the suffering, poverty and unemployment of the majority of people in South Africa and the unjust dispensation of racism and division, white supremacy, exploitation and oppression. The members were called upon to participate in programmes and initiatives of civil disobedience against an illegal government and in programmes demonstrating their non-collaboration within the evil apartheid system.

It was not an easy task to promote the cause of the Campaign and to conscientise a whole church, especially because people feared the security police and their persecution. In addition, the influence of many generations of conditioning and political inactivity due to the oppressive system entrenched apathy, and education for transformation takes time. The Concerned Christians enjoyed the full co-operation of the Regional Board, even in so far as raising funds overseas in the name of the Church for their campaigns in general.⁵³⁴ It must also be said that they somehow conveyed the impression that they were the political saviour of the Church and projected themselves as the political elite of the Moravian Church. The impression was created that no minister or organisation in the Church ever

⁵³⁴ For these funds and their administering, they did not feel themselves responsible to the Church authorities and even the Synod; neither were they held responsible by the Board at the time. Could it be that they felt they deserved better as they still complained about their acknowledgement as a permanent structure of the Church, whilst the Synod in 1988 legislated that the group should form part of the Commission of "Christian Citizenship" so that they could be accountable to the structures of the Church? (see I. Schiewe, 1998: 30).

worked in an organised manner to educate the members politically.⁵³⁵ What was not understood, especially by the youth, was that the Church authorities could take a stand, but could not force people to a specific political position, or even dogmatic persuasion for that matter. However, it must be stated that the Standing for the Truth Campaign in the Moravian Church on the whole was a successful effort in that everybody was confronted with the prophetic truth as propagated by the SACC in the South African situation of oppression.

ii) The Witness of the Organised Youth of the Church (MYUSA)

Since the 70s the annual youth camps and International Work camps organised on the initiative of the Church youth, exercised great influence amongst the youth, not only of the Church but ecumenically. The conduit was the local youth association in the congregations. Annually, a number of a 100 to 200 would be drawn to the camps where conscientisation would take place by means of Bible studies, group discussions and cultural programmes. The apartheid government was fully aware of these activities through their collaborators, who were also active members at the camps, and the result was Security Police interrogations after the camp.⁵³⁶ These camps came increasingly under the influence of Liberation Theology and Black Theology with its socio-political component of Black Consciousness, which came to the camps with the theology and other university students who were members of the movement at the time.

⁵³⁵ Cf. I. Schiewe, 1998: 27 – 31.

⁵³⁶ In the 70s already FM Goliath, Blanche Saville, Frits Farao and others were interrogated by the Security Police (by an officer called Spyker van Wyk) at Caledon Square in Cape Town after the Work Camp. Others were not so lucky just to be interrogated but were imprisoned: Quinton Michaels and Cecil Esau convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years on Robben Island; David Fortuin and Jeremy Veary, two years for assisting or harbouring terrorists. Others victims were John Issel, Walter Rhooide, Neville v.d Rheede, Charlene Wessels, Brian Engel, Charles Titus etc. The list is not complete, but this work pays tribute to their courageous stance and resistance against the dehumanising system for the freedom of people!

It is this influence that resulted in the active reaction against the apartheid regime in the 80s when the youth actively engaged in resistance movements resulting from the Christian political programmes of MYUSA. Issues that were discussed included oppression, injustices, political prisoners, apartheid legislation and the security system, the economy, unemployment, media censure, banning orders, economic and cultural issues, as well as election boycotts and the effect of disinvestments.⁵³⁷

High priority was afforded to the resistance movement and the role of the UDF amongst the youth, inspired by their Christian social awareness. Naturally, the discussions also revolved around violence as a last resort to effect political change and to end oppression. These political programmes of MYUSA also caused tension within the circles of the youth. Some young people complained that the executive was indoctrinating the youth to become activists, and that they did not think that the Bible Studies should serve that purpose. In 1985 it became such an issue that some wanted to leave for home because the Camp was "too radical". MYUSA's valuable role in the resistance movement was acknowledged in that it became the chief initiator and founder member of the Inter Church Youth (ICY) as part of the UDF in the Western Cape in 1983. In that way the movement could bring a Christian ecumenical voice amidst other organisations that endeavoured for a democratic SA. When the UDF, together with 19 other organisations, were served with restriction orders in 1988, the ICY was also included.

MYUSA's role in conscientising the youth can never be estimated to its full value. However, their contribution was possible only because of the liberal attitude in the Church. In a one sense, the Church was conservative and quietist, but in another, it was very tolerant of different needs and

⁵³⁷ Cf. Year Camp reports and circular letters of MYUSA.

persuasions. MYUSA was highly critical of ministers and the Church authorities for not being outspoken and public enough in the condemnation of apartheid and the oppressive regime.⁵³⁸ However, MYUSA was also part of the Church and could only perform their valuable task as the Moravian Youth because it had the co-operation of the Church. Camps were held at mission stations and the infrastructure was created and supplied by the local church council, minister and congregation. MYUSA was the official youth structure for the education of the Church youth, and when MYUSA educated and conscientised the youth, it was the Church that spoke and acted.⁵³⁹

iii) The Kairos Document

The Kairos document became a key-document for many churches in the process of change to a prophetic theology. Apparently the Moravian Church was not contacted when the first draft was drawn up in 1985. It could have been due to the fact that many activities of the SACC happened in and around Johannesburg at the time and often people at the periphery could not be contacted because of the urgency of the matter. On the other hand, it could also be ascribed to the mode of presentation, centralisation and the sense of accountability of officials.⁵⁴⁰ The Synod actually expressed

⁵³⁸ It would blame the Church Authorities for hiding behind the SACC and FELCSA in making theological statements about the political situation. To the youth a sermon could never be political enough, therefore they would flock to sermons conducted by Dr Allen Boesak at the time. They yearned for relevant sermons that addressed the issues of the day prophetically. Too many ministers at the time were of the old school, the new school of thought would only come during the middle of the 80s.

⁵³⁹ The themes of the Camps alone are already a reflection of the political realities of the country and the position that MYUSA took: 1983/84, "Path Of Hope . . . Let My People GO"; 1986/7 "In Christ Hope for Today"; 1987/8, "In Christ our Liberation"; 1989/90, "Standing for the Truth".

⁵⁴⁰ The structure in the Church Board by which duties were allocated according to portfolios could at times prove inefficient; for instance when the assigned person is not available, or not willing to attend and then nobody would represent the Church. It might even be that in reporting back some information might not be shared because of the personal persuasion of the individual. It already happened that the Church had no representation at the WCC meeting at Sydney because of this kind of officialdom.

itself against such possibilities by declaring that “a lack of knowledge is identified as a cause of distorting or withholding information, [therefore] reporting should be . . . in writing . . . [and] circulated to ensure follow up.”⁵⁴¹ The only reason why Rev. A. Barnby C. Habelgaarn,⁵⁴² a minister of the Church, was fortunate to sign the first version before publication, was because he was a friend of Bishop Abel Hendricks of the Methodist Church and chairperson of the SACC at the time, who informed him about the document. However, the published content was widely circularised throughout the Church through the congregations’ membership of the Western Province Council of Churches⁵⁴³

The document enjoyed theological reflection at the Seminary, but it was especially in the youth circles that the Document enjoyed extensive discussion with regard to the SACC’s theological position regarding the distinction between State-, Church- and Prophetic Theology. MYUSA therefore followed the SACC in promoting a prophetic theology in the Moravian Church on the basis that the Church, in the struggle for justice, should set the tone in coming into the open (being public in its witness – *kerugma* and *marturea*)⁵⁴⁴ with the socio-political implications of the Gospel.

⁵⁴¹ Minutes of the 9th Synod (SAE, 1992:18).

⁵⁴² The Working Committee acknowledged that it “realise[d] that many would probably have wanted to add their names to this list. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons including time, distance and availability, we were not able to reach everyone who might have been interested.” (Kairos Document, 1985: 28).

⁵⁴³ In the Pastoral Letter of 1986, the congregations were encouraged to study the document. At the seminary and ministers gatherings the document was intensively discussed.

⁵⁴⁴ Kerygmatic meaning “proclamation of the Gospel” and Marturea meaning “witnessing”. In Marturea we have the root for the word martyr i.e. witnessing to the point of being persecuted. In the context of SA then it would mean that the Church and the lay- members could only have learnt from their experience of fear by dealing with it in being faithful to the cost of discipleship and the demands of the Gospel. Unfortunately many became confused and lethargic because of the fear.

iv) The Rustenburg Declaration

This Declaration was the fruit of a national conference of the Churches in South Africa that took place at Rustenburg in 1990. Ninety-Seven Christian denominations and organisations took part in the conference under the theme, "Towards a United Christian Witness in a Changing South Africa."

The Rustenburg Declaration, which appeared in May 1990, makes it clear how the Churches saw their role with regard to apartheid in reaction to the document. In general, the Declaration appealed to all churches and the government to make a confession before God, in "join[ing] us in a public confession of guilt and a statement of repentance for wrongs perpetuated over the years"⁵⁴⁵ and to pray for forgiveness. The Moravian Church, who discussed the declaration at a Ministers' Conference in May 1991, declared because of this meeting that it confessed its own guilt and prayed for forgiveness: "We humbly join the Rustenburg consultation in admitting and confessing to the different ways in which we have sustained and even contributed to the sin of apartheid. For a long time we have either silently accepted or lamely expressed our opposition and condemnation of the evils within our divided and oppressive society."⁵⁴⁶

Apartheid became the original sin of the whole South African nation and political society⁵⁴⁷ of which no one could plead innocence. Many were innocently born into it and millions became unwilling victims of it; yet others enjoyed the comforts that apartheid offered without ever lifting a finger to criticise it. By confessing its guilt the Moravian Church acknowledged its weaknesses and admitted that it could have done more – even as a small church despite all its weaknesses, suffering and losses under apartheid.

⁵⁴⁵ Report of the National Conference of Churches, 1990: 4.

⁵⁴⁶ Statement of acceptance of the Rustenburg Declaration, 1991.

⁵⁴⁷ Albert Nolan, 1988 *God in South Africa*.

It can be argued that the South African Moravian Church, with regard to its Church/State relation, went through a gradual learning curve from quietist in the 60s to synodal pronouncements against the apartheid dispensation in the 70s (Pastoral letters), which ended in the eventual call to civil disobedience in the late 80s. It has been argued that its membership of and participation in the SACC and other ecumenical bodies and its decisions were ample proof of the position of the Church with regard to "apartheid". In other word, when the SACC spoke in the South African political context, the Moravian Church had also spoken. The argument was that the Moravian Church as a small church of 100 000 members should speak ecumenically in order to add more weight to its prophetic voice in the SA context.

However, this was regarded by the younger members of the Church as hiding behind the SACC. The politically radical Moravian Youth wanted to see their leadership partaking in protest marches like Bishop Tutu and leaders of other churches. It was also the opinion of the Church youth that not much political education for responsible Christian citizenship was taking place in the Church. The sermons were at most an exposition of the biblical text and very moralistic at that, which rendered the type of theology that was practised in the Moravian Church at large a kind of Church Theology, according to the distinction made by the SACC in the Kairos Document, and in some instances even a State Theology. In the 80s, however, the Church's disposition gradually changed in that younger ministers came into office⁵⁴⁸ and the representation at Synod was of a younger, more learned and critical disposition as far as the lay people were concerned.

⁵⁴⁸ At least 10 senior influential ministers died during the eighties. Also the Regional Board changed dramatically in the 80s, which allowed for new blood. Many of the Struggle people of the 70s were now involved in leadership positions in the Church.

Finally, it could be summarised that the Moravian Church under apartheid moved from a conservative privatised religious theology through a liberal, accommodative church theology (State/Church theology) to a confessional Prophetic Theology in the late eighties and after. The Church learnt that it has to be public if it did not want to degenerate into a sectarian, "privatised soul factory" that had no relevance for the lives of people and the Kingdom values in the broader South African political and socio-economic context. Yet, freedom of persuasion of the ministers and individual members had to be respected in a diversified and pluralistic communion like the Church.

6.7 The Process of Church Union as a witness to the political transformation in South Africa

6.7.1 "Our aim toward becoming one Moravian Church in Southern Africa" ⁵⁴⁹

When the Unity Synod of 1869 resolved that the South African Mission Province should be divided into Eastern (SAE) and Western (SAW) Districts because of unique cultural (language and lifestyle) and contextual factors (e.g. mission strategies applicable to the context), as well as geographical, administrative and financial factors, no one could have predicted that this arrangement would in later years strengthen the apartheid racial system (at least since 1948) and also lead to the relative estrangement of the members of the two independent churches.

However, the Church leadership was never going to allow the one Moravian confessional family to become estranged from each other despite the differences in culture, language or whatever difference there might have been. The Leadership had a vision based on the Church Order of the *Unitas Fratrum*:

"We believe in and confess the unity of the Church given in the one Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. He died that He might unite the scattered children of God. As the living Lord and Shepherd, He is leading His flock toward such unity."⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁹ Taken from the report of the Regional Board (SAE) to Synod 1984 par. 7.

Based on this confessional disposition based on the biblical injunction,⁵⁵¹ the Provincial Boards of both provinces regarded it as their mandate to continue in constructing positive Christian signs of unity in the apartheid-divided society.

The first Combined Synod was held in Salem in 1956 where the South African Board was introduced consisting of both Provincial Boards. In 1969 the South African Board mapped out a three-phased unity programme: (1) Consultation; (2) Federation; (3) Full unity. In the beginning of the seventies, a Draft Constitution was worked out and was accepted at both SAE and SAW Synods in 1973, to ensure that the first "Federal Synod" of the Moravian Church could be held in 1975 at Gelvandale.⁵⁵² A new Draft Constitution was discussed. The Moravian Church in Southern Africa was officially constituted in 1977 after having been accepted by the two Synods in 1976. In 1978, the First Provincial Synod was held at Mvenyane. In 1982, the Second Provincial Synod was held at Salem. It was clearly stated that "we are determined to become one organic Moravian Church in Southern Africa." The Synod spent two-thirds of its time to discuss ways and means of implementing the unity that was already in existence. In the proposals, sensitive matters such as salaries and general finances were dealt with in an open and responsible way. The Synod also accepted that "the chairman of the Regional Boards shall be alternatively Chairman of the Provincial Synod." Regarding the continuation of the work amongst the uprooted members from the Tsitsikamma in Buwa and Keiskammahoek, Synod decided to regard the work as a joint venture and to bear the cost in

⁵⁵⁰ COUF, 1995: 15, par 6.

⁵⁵¹ The 'High-priestly prayer' of Jesus in John 17: 11: "that they may be one" became the biblical imperative for the Moravian Church. It serves as the reason for its existence in the divided society.

⁵⁵² Minutes of the Provincial Board 1969. Cf. Addendum for diagram regarding for federal structures of the MCSA.

equal shares.⁵⁵³ Synod also issued a “Statement on Unity between the two Regions in Southern Africa”.⁵⁵⁴

Our Belief

1. We believe in and confess the Unity of the Church given in the one Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour.
2. We believe that the Church of Jesus Christ despite all distinctions is one in its Lord. We are called to testify that God in Jesus Christ brings His people out of every race, kindred and tongue into one body pardons sinners beneath the cross and brings them together.
3. We believe that it is the Lord's will that we should give witness of and seek unity in Him with zeal and love.
4. We believe that it is laid upon us as a charge of our Lord to strive for a real and total unity between our two Regions of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa.

Our Confession:

1. We confess our share in the guilt, which is manifested in the severed and divided state of our Moravian Church in Southern Africa.
2. We confess that despite the many hindrances, e.g. political, economic and social structures, we are determined to become one organic Moravian Church in Southern-Africa.

The Road Forward:

Till the day of total unity comes, which we all long for, we propose that the following steps be taken on that road towards full union:

1. That the Regional Board consists of five members elected at each Synod;

⁵⁵³ Minutes of 1982 Provincial Synod.

⁵⁵⁴ The designation was still ‘Southern’ due to the three countries: RSA, Ciskei and Transkei.

2. That the work of SAW on the Rand and in Natal resort under SAE, and the work of SAE in the Western Cape resort under SAW;
3. That the PB be authorised to second personnel from one region to the other under conditions worked out by the Provincial Board;
4. That a Capital Salary Fund for the Moravian Church in SA be established and each region contribute annually to this fund;
5. That Stewardship Programmes be seriously expedited at congregational level;
6. That congregations initiate programmes to make its members aware of the road forward towards full union and the implications thereof.

Plans were also made to call the Rev. Werner Ullrich of the Württemberg Church, who was known in both regions, for the purpose of conducting seminars on unity to educate the congregations throughout the Province for a period of three years as from 1985.⁵⁵⁵

The Third Provincial Synod was held at Port Elizabeth from 1 - 2 July 1986. The Synod decided to add two more areas of co-operation to the existing areas of Ecumenical affairs, Theological training and Mission, viz. Welfare/Diaconia and Church Music. A Unity Commission of six members (three from each region) was elected with the task "to make an in-depth study of all implications involved for the two regions in becoming one Moravian Church in Southern Africa in all respects . . . A final report is to be tabled at the Provincial Board in March 1988 for further discussion and decision-making. Findings to be sent to Regional Synod meetings in 1988 and to the Provincial Synod in 1990 for discussion and possible implementation."⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Minutes of the Second Provincial Synod, 1982: 26.

⁵⁵⁶ Minutes of the Third Provincial Synod, 1986: 22.

The Adjourned Fourth Provincial Synod of 4 and 5 April 1992 in Port Elizabeth dealt with the final report of the Unity Commission and the Draft Constitution of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa. The Synod resolved that:

- The two regions . . . decide positively in principle to unite to become the Moravian Church according to Model 1;⁵⁵⁷
- The two Regional Synods taking place in 1992 are served with this decision for ratification and to approve implementation on 1 March 1993;
- The two Regional Synods dissolve as Synods in 1992 to become regional Conferences;
- The elections according to Model 1 are conducted today, 5 April 1992.

The Synod then proceeded to elect a President and a Vice-President as well as a Presidium for the forthcoming Synod. At the following Regional Synods in 1992, the Draft Constitution was accepted with the following formula:

“Whereas the Provincial Synod accepted the one constitution of the one Moravian Church in SA on the 4 April 1992; and whereas this Synod has to ratify and approve implementation as from 1 March 1993; Be it resolved that this Synod should dissolve and the name “Synod” be replaced by “conference”.

During the inter-synodal period, the designation of the Regions was changed. SAE was named Region A, and SAW became Region B. In pursuing the goal of unification, a further change was made. The forthcoming Synod was not to be the “fifth” but the “First Provincial Synod.”

⁵⁵⁷ This Model (see diagram no 1, Addendum B) implies that there is one Provincial Synod, one PB and one head office consisting of the Western Region comprising of the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape and the Eastern Region comprising of Johannesburg, Natal, Ciskei and Transkei areas (see Addendum).

6.7.2 The First Provincial Synod of the One Moravian Church in South Africa

The First provincial Synod sat from 3 – 7 October 1994 at Port Elizabeth. It dealt with ways and means of implementing and introducing the new structures of the Moravian Church in South Africa. Thus it was resolved that: “all congregations be represented at the Provincial Synod. Regional Conferences as they are presently constituted fall away after 1996. Existing districts (1 – 11), with all the District Councils, will now operate and take on greater responsibilities. Annual District Conferences shall be held. Representation at the 1998 Provincial Synod will be all serving clergy and one representative from each congregation. Departments and Unions will be represented by one delegate per unit.”⁵⁵⁸

According to the new Constitution, the Provincial Synod shall consist of:

- The Presidium;
- All Provincial Board members;
- All Bishops;
- All ministers and evangelists;
- All duly constituted congregations;
- One representative from each Department; and
- One from each Union; as well as
- Ecumenical non-voting members from our partner-churches.

The Synod shall meet once every third year. The PB shall consist of the President, the Vice-President, one representative from each District as elected by the District Conference; the serving Bishops without voting rights. It shall meet at least four times per year.

⁵⁵⁸ Minutes of the First Provincial Synod of the *one* MCSA 1994 Port Elizabeth.

The District Conference shall consist of the Praesidium; District Council; the ministers, parish workers and acolytes, evangelists in charge of main congregations; the congregation representatives (minimum of 6) and such church related bodies or staff members as might be decided by the District Conference, the serving Bishops and the Executive of the PB. The District Conference shall meet annually. The District Council consisting of representatives from the congregations and co-workers shall meet at least once per quarter.⁵⁵⁹

The inter-synodal period saw the implementation of the 11 district Councils on an experimental basis in 1997. The purpose was to prepare the congregations for the restructuring of the Church when the regional structuring of the Church would be abolished and the new constitution would be introduced.

6.7.3 The Second Provincial Synod

The Second Provincial Synod held from the 5 - 9 July 1998 in Port Elizabeth accepted the Draft Constitution as the Church Order for the Moravian Church In South Africa.⁵⁶⁰ The Moravian Church was again one Church. Apart from dealing with its full protocol, Synod elected its new leadership: DA Meyer was elected as the President, AR Swart and E Ndabambi as Vice Presidents of the executive of the PB. To the Praesidium of Synod were elected AT Appel, SB Jwili and KTh August.⁵⁶¹

The Synod was graced by an official visit of the State President, Nelson Mandela. He said that Genadendal, one of the Missions which had focussed on education, development of skills as well as spiritual and material

⁵⁵⁹ Minutes of the First Provincial Synod.

⁵⁶⁰ As homelands were reintegrated into the now democratic Republic of South Africa since 1994 as one country, the Church was positively and patriotically designated the Moravian Church in South Africa.

⁵⁶¹ Minutes of the Second Provincial Synod, 5 - 9 July 1998, Port Elizabeth.

development, had been a light of hope during the past darkness. "I know that what was achieved at Genadendal was inspired by the vision and devotion of the Moravian Church. That is why, to me as resident of that other Genadendal⁵⁶² it is such a privilege to be here at your Provincial Synod." He also congratulated the Church for adopting a new Constitution, which would protect its unity. By taking cognisance of this ecclesiastical unity the President declared it a public event, which expresses a theological truth in the political reality of the South African public sphere.⁵⁶³

6.7.4 The Cost of Church Unity⁵⁶⁴

Despite many misgivings, suspicion, uncertainty and criticism, the Moravian Church became one church:

- in obedience to its theological principle and on the basis of the biblical injunction;
- On the basis of its historical background as one confessional family in South Africa;
- As a witness in the South African context.⁵⁶⁵

However, no one can deny that the political transformation in the country contributed to the eventual holistic outcome. Indifference, racism, property, and above all finances and the calling and remuneration of ministers, were the major concerns, if not obstacles, in the way to unity, which had to be discussed, consulted and negotiated in a Christian spirit of openness, frankness and fellowship. Even such a spirit was tried and tested in a period full of difficulty, full of tension and taxing on tolerance levels.

⁵⁶² President Mandela named his official residence after Genadendal to pay tribute to the pioneering work amongst the indigenous people of South Africa.

⁵⁶³ Minutes of the Second Provincial Synod, 5 – 9 July 1998, Port Elizabeth.

⁵⁶⁴ Already after the first year of unity the Church had run up an overdraft of R300 000 (Cf. Annual Financial Statement).

⁵⁶⁵ Report of the Unity Commission, Part I, 1991.

The Unity Commission in 1988 confronted the Synod with the costs of change to become one church, viz. the theological and biblical injunctions, the historical baggage, structural changes, the legal issues concerning constitutional rights and property title deeds, the financial burden and language differences.⁵⁶⁶ In a sense, all these issues have been partially addressed in unification, but it had still to be lived. The spiritual dimension is a given and needs to be grown into. As far as the historical baggage and cultural differences are concerned, the Church will always have to live with and manage it in a spirit of tolerance and sensitivity. Therefore, the Church already in 1986 started an active partnership programme between congregations in the West and in the East through correspondence and visits. In this way, (1) an acceptance of one another as sisters and brothers, (2) the rejection of certain racial and cultural stereotypes, and (3) the desire to be one church were nurtured. Ironically, active partnerships between the Moravian Church of South Africa (both SAE and SAW) and German Churches existed already for more than 20 years (through these supportive partnerships the oppressed church of the poor was strengthened during the long years of degradation and exploitation).⁵⁶⁷

In order to strengthen this programme each congregation and district has a partnership committee, which is now co-ordinated in the National Partnership Committee since 2001. In this endeavour the Moravian Church's witness has public implications in that this model will gradually

⁵⁶⁶ Report of the Unity Commission, Part I, 1991:1 – 36.

⁵⁶⁷ Through the Evangelische Missionwerke in Süd.westliche Deutschland (EMS) partnership programmes were established with congregations of the Brüdergemeine, Badischen and Württembergischen Landeskirche. These links were strengthened by mutual visits and support even throughout the apartheid era. These congregations and their church leadership were regularly kept informed about the situation in SA and they also actively advocated for the course of the oppressed in SA. Partners sometimes demonstrated against the SA propaganda and support boycott campaigns.

also influence the South African society at large. It is not just an issue of organic and structural unity but also of existential unity.⁵⁶⁸

The financial aspect is still very problematic for the Church administration because with Unity the salaries of all co-workers (especially ministers) were put on par and integrated into one salary system according to years of service. It was a fact that the economically poor SAE was in no position at the existing income, which was economically due to the apartheid system, to afford the claims of one church budget. The SAW was aware of this and the extra burden it would be to the West, where 70% of the members are ordinary workers. However, the economic situation is much better. This determination and dedication to Church Unity was amicably displayed in a ministers conference after serious debate on the financial implications:

‘On becoming one Church’ is long overdue. In joining with the Churches at the Rustenburg Conference we have committed ourselves irrevocably when we subscribed to the Declaration, to work for unity on all levels. We are guilty of seeing too many problems, especially in the field of finance, and using it as a deterrent factor for not becoming one Church. Although we admit that we have been favoured economically and also in other fields and therefore are the stronger partner. It therefore stands to reason that we should be prepared when becoming one Church, to carry the heavier part.⁵⁶⁹

The forthcoming unity budget however required the East to contribute more. The Synod therefore called upon the “church councils to encourage the

⁵⁶⁸ This model that is being developed can serve as a useful tool for new communities where a community spirit has to be developed.

⁵⁶⁹ The declaration of the ministers fraternal of SAW in early, 1991, The Rustenburg Declaration and Our Unity.

congregations to pay their contributions.”⁵⁷⁰ In a Pastoral Letter of March 1994, when the Provincial Board announced the first Unity budget for the Province, the Board encouraged all members to honour their contributions in order to realise the United Church. “This should help us to become members of the Moravian Church in South Africa and not to remain members of an Eastern or Western Region. This should help us to accept each other as sisters and brothers. We sincerely hope that no member in any congregation will regard the little more that he/she shall have to contribute financially as a burden. May this rather be an inspiration to strive for real unity so that we as one church can witness unto our Lord more effectively.”⁵⁷¹

The 3rd Provincial Synod took place in June 2001. It was an impressive experience to see the full strength of the Church at work with a view of the best gifts (cf. Eph. 4:11 – 13). The representation was a much younger group from all over South Africa, very articulate and learned. All the Unions had representation at the Synod, which means that all had gone national during the inter-synodal period and had integrated the Women’s (MWUSA), the Men’s (MBUSA), the Youth (MYUSA), the Choir Union (MOCUSA), The Brass Band Union (BBSA) and the Sunday School (MSUSA) work of the Moravian Church throughout SA.

In all these efforts to make the unity work in praxis, its partner churches in Germany supported the Church, especially financially. Already in the first year the Church ran into financial difficulties regarding the budget. This seems to make the road forward a very difficult one, at least financially. Over against that the spirit of owning the Church at Synod 2001 was overwhelmingly positive. Synod was very sensitive and responsible in exercising its decisions with the result that there was always a good spread

⁵⁷⁰ Minutes of the SAW 11th Synod, 1992: 72.

⁵⁷¹ Pastoral Letter, March 1994: 6.

over the whole church in the elections. A democratic system had been put into place as church polity. The Church is a church of the people by the people. Transparency and accountability are built into all structures of the Church so that the people of God can now be equipped for works of service in the micro and macro environment of the Church.

6.7.5 The Church Land Issue

6.7.5.1 Mission Stations and development

The Moravian Church, through its mission enclaves has been a custodian of land⁵⁷² for the indigenous people since the first half of the 18th Century after the founding of the first Mission Station in Baviaanskloof. Some land was held as “grant stations” and the Church purchased other land. The issue of the Grant Stations was solved when the Government, after many years of struggle, passed the Mission Station Act that passed the land into the hold of Superintendents and a Local Management Board (1908). However, under apartheid and the accompanying economic system these areas gradually deteriorated economically into what is today regarded as Historically Disadvantaged Areas. The Government did very little during the apartheid era to build the infrastructure of these villages. The Church over the years, at great cost and with great difficulty, supplied the communities with a water system, built clinics and schools, installed electricity and sanitation. Even with a basic service like postal services the Church had great difficulties over the years to maintain such services, especially in the smaller and isolated mission stations. At times, especially in the beginning, the post office would be run out of the minister’s office. Public transport was supplied on the initiative of the local residents themselves. The railway lines built by the inhabitants of the mission stations never ran past a mission station, but always connected the white towns. The Health and Welfare services were locally co-ordinated by community committees on which the

⁵⁷² Next to the Lutheran Church it is the Church with the most church land in SA (30% of total church properties (cf. Die Algemene Sinode Agenda 2002).

minister also served with the aim of securing the services from the State in the form of a weekly visit by the district surgeon, a health inspector and in order to secure the local permanent services or otherwise weekly visits of a community health practitioner. The maintenance and equipment of the clinic, as well as the partial salary of a permanent nurse, was the responsibility of the local community. The community had the responsibility to raise funds with the support of the Church for the administrative budget. In this way the Welfare Associations saw to the needs of the local inhabitants and made applications on their behalf.

In the 80s, the Church, realising the immense suffering of people due to unemployment and poverty, approached through the Provincial Board its partner, the Badische Landeskirche, for financial support⁵⁷³ for a project to uplift these rural areas. With the financial injection the Masizakhe (Xhosa for "Let us build together") Project with a revolving fund was started. A Mazesakhe Steering Committee was formed to manage the fund and the projects. People were asked to form small enterprise groups. Projects were identified and the parties were assisted in planning and managing their projects. The interest was great and the projects ranged from clothing manufacturing, agricultural projects, timber projects, building and brick-making projects and bakeries to poultry farming. What is remarkable was that the Church did not exclude the Grant Stations communities although these communities do not consist of Moravian members only and was directly the responsibility of the state. Even Moravian groups in the cities could apply for soft loans to start projects. This is how a hiring supply project was launched in Cape Town. However, the Masizakhe project just does not seem fully functional. Reports of problems with accountability, mismanagement by project co-ordinators, favouritism, red-tape that resulted in monies not paid out in time and some projects not being financially

⁵⁷³ The Badische Landeskirche donated 900 000 DM in 1988.

viable, resulted in the project being put on hold for a while to give the Church board a chance to investigate the project.⁵⁷⁴

The Electrical Project of the Church is financially well administered and renders satisfactory services in eight mission stations. As with the electrical scheme, the water and sanitation systems were also installed and are being maintained by the Church for the communities so that the poorest of the poor can also benefit from these services. Not everybody is satisfied with this centralised system of service provision. People would rather see the decentralisation of service management so that the local communities can benefit from the revenue raised, but it is the policy of the Church that it had laid out money for a revolving fund that has to benefit the whole church.⁵⁷⁵ The roads and storm water regulation on the Moravian owned mission stations were the responsibility of the local community council and in most cases, the local community rendered voluntary services. For the policing service, the Church provided police stations with charge offices, living areas and even a prison. Up until the 60s, the shops, butcheries and cafés⁵⁷⁶ supplied all the needs of the local communities at reasonable, competitive prices. Sports and recreation facilities are also provided for in the form of very basic sports fields and a community hall. Thus, the Church strives to provide holistic infrastructure and services for its mission stations.⁵⁷⁷

6.7.5.2 *The Genadendal Accord*

When the Government of National Unity came into power, it embarked on several programmes to unite the once divided country and to uplift the historically disadvantaged. One such programme that finds a direct link to the efforts of the Church above is the Reconstruction and Development

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Mazisakhe Report, 1992 to 2001.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Reports of the Provincial Board to Synods 1988 – 2001.

⁵⁷⁶ Some of these business enterprises were in the hands of local entrepreneurs.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Reports of the Provincial Board to the synods 1988 – 2001.

Programme (RDP). Its aim is to work for peace and security, the reconstruction and development of the nation and the entrenchment of democracy. Was it a coincidence that the RDP chose as motto *Masakhana* (a Zulu word), which also means, "Let us build together"? The aim was to provide equitable health services, school-feeding schemes, and long-term goods-programmes like housing, electrification, streets, training and education and to find inclusive ways to return the uprooted people to their land.

The mission stations of the Moravian Church have come to represent a particular icon for transformation in the new South Africa, especially as State President Mandela, in the case of Genadendal, deliberately chose the old mission station name as the name for his official presidential residence. Could it then be true that the Church, after all its attempts to preserve the mission stations for the future generations of its members against white settlers' greed, is regarded as an exploiter that denies its inhabitants or members a basic human right? Has the Church through its property policy prevented the inhabitants of mission stations to become full citizens of the country? Has the Church not used the Church-owned land to uplift the whole church and not only the mission station inhabitants by mortgaging the property to raise money for mission expansion in building schools, crèches and multipurpose church buildings in the rural areas and cities and for development work on the mission stations?⁵⁷⁸

In the mid-90s, the Provincial Board of the Moravian Church called the Moravian Task Group for Land and Development (TLD) into being with the task of spearheading the democratisation process of the management of the mission stations and to develop the MCSA 2007 Development Plan. As a result of findings, the TLD reported the following to the Board: "The

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. the statement in Schiewe, 1998: 41 reflects the ignorance of the people "in certain circles" with the history of the MCSA and their preoccupation with ideological principles.

biggest and most crucial is to free all our people for many still live in bondage of the apartheid era. This is our responsibility and therefore land reform and development of the rural areas should be seen as an instrument to be used for the emancipation of the person while improving the quality of life for all.⁵⁷⁹ As directives for the land and development, the TLD advised that: the cultural, historical and social heritage of the Church should be preserved; a sustainable guarantee for mission station land be brought for the inhabitants in view of the Genadendal Accord⁵⁸⁰; and employment opportunities and equitable economic empowerment be created with the aim of eradicating the poverty on the mission stations.⁵⁸¹

According to the Genadendal Accord, between the state and the Moravian Church, the lease agreement in relation to land reform on the mission stations of Wupperthal, Elim, Goedverwacht, Wittewater, Pella, Clarkson and Kousa would be reformed. In the press statement after the accord was signed, the minister declared as follows: "With the dawning of a new and democratic South Africa, this accord will give impetus to the process started a decade ago. Rural communities, and particularly mission stations communities, were in many ways isolated and poorly serviced by the previous regime, leaving communities with little or no infrastructure." The aim of this agreement is to reintegrate these remote and isolated rural communities in the South African public. Subsequently, the "historical traditions, the character and cultural educational and religious way of life of the communities" would be respected.⁵⁸² The Government acknowledged in principle the validity of the mission station rules and regulations. However,

⁵⁷⁹ Land and Development Task Group, Report to the Provincial Board, June 1996.

⁵⁸⁰ The Genadendal Accord was signed between Derek Hanekom, the minister of Agriculture and Land Reform, and the Provincial Board at Genadendal in 1996 in connection with the government aided-development of the mission stations.

⁵⁸¹ Land and Task Group, Report to the Provincial Board, June 1996.

⁵⁸² Media Release, Ministry for Agricultural and Land Affairs, October 1996.

the inhabitants are also allowed a kind of land-property right without having the right to dispose of the property. In this way, the partially latent potential of economic and cultural development will be stimulated, as well as the tourism industry.

The Accord further acknowledged "the historical role that the Moravian Church has played as protector and custodian of land for the benefit of poor, oppressed and largely vote-less inhabitants of our country." With regard to the developmental role and its meagre resources, it is stated, "The significant contribution that has been made by the Moravian Church to establish schools, infrastructure and housing for inhabitants at rural Mission Stations despite the neglect of the apartheid state to provide assistance."⁵⁸³

In the naked presence of peri-urban squalor and human misery, the tide of depopulation of the rural areas has to be stemmed, and projects should be designed to provide the infrastructure and employment opportunities, especially around agriculture, land and eco-tourism. With this aim in mind, the Mazisakhe Project was launched and it was intended to create sustainable, self-supportive projects in the process, but unfortunately, not many durable employment opportunities could be created.⁵⁸⁴ The Moravian Church through its mission stations within the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) can become Islands of Hope for rural development in SA.⁵⁸⁵

6.7.5.3 Land Claim and Land Restitution

The Moravian Church, in a Report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996, submitted to the Commission the suffering and humiliation that the Church had to endure under the apartheid regime.⁵⁸⁶ In

⁵⁸³ Agreement of Co-operation and Declaration of Intend, October 1996.

⁵⁸⁴ Ficher, Report on a visit to the Partner Church, Moravian Church in SA, January 1996: 4.

⁵⁸⁵ In this regard it can be mentioned that the Elim Mission Station has already been honoured with R1 000 000 prize-money for the best rural community development project in 2001.

⁵⁸⁶ Moravian Church in SA, Report to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, 1996.

the submission the Church mentions the injustices that the Church has suffered, amongst others with regard to property, viz. the Moravian Hill complex in District Six (Cape Town), Moravian Hope and Fairview in Port Elizabeth, in the Tsitsikamma: Wittekleibosch and Doreskraal complexes that were disowned. These complexes consisted of 7 Church buildings, five parsonages, five schools, a crèche and a dwelling-place.⁵⁸⁷ The total property value would be worth approximately R100 million today.

When, in November 1994, the new Parliament passed the Land Claims Act, the Church also submitted a claim for restitution with regard to all the above-mentioned property, which served before the Land Claims Court. As far as the Moravian Hill Complex is concerned, through the relentless pressure of the District Six Restitution and Development Trust (The Trust),⁵⁸⁸ the Cape Technikon, which is the legal title deed holder, had

⁵⁸⁷ Moravian Church in SA, Report to the TRC, 1996: 24ff.

⁵⁸⁸ This Trust, of which KTh August is a member, was constituted in a public meeting in 1999 under the chairpersonship of Judge Bam of the Land Claims Court and Advocate Mgogi, the Commissioner of the Lands Claim and Restitution Commission. As the last minister of Moravian Hill in 1980, August ever since then as a Moravian kept up the fight for the restitution of Moravian Hill. Later towards the 90s he was supported by MM October and DA Meyer who were nominated by the Church Board to support him in a now defunct District Six Committee of the City Council. But this Committee had no mandate from the people and argued that the community did not exist any more. Its aim was to have those individuals that would submit claims compensated with money. But there was no intention to redevelop District Six for the original community or for future generations. However, when this became clear a group of erstwhile residents and occupiers resigned from it with August amongst them and formed the District Six Restitution and Development Committee. This Committee laboriously managed within two years to assemble 2 000 signatories and claimants, which had to be validated and processed. These validated claimants at the mentioned public meeting elected the Trust to act on their behalf. President Thabo Mbeki himself, at a public meeting, symbolically signed the development of District Six over to the Trust in 2001 on a plot next to the Moravian Church. At a "turning of the sod ceremony" in February 2002 the Trust made its intentions clear to start building the first units to ensure the return of the people to District Six. At the moment the Trust is a little anxious that the Moravian Church is still prevented from legally reoccupying the Church building and the Manse. The only delay now is the legal ramifications that have to be worked out by the lawyers of the Technikon and the Church. A small remnant of the erstwhile 2000 strong original Moravian

publicly agreed (in 2001) to sign the remaining church complex over to the Moravian Church at a nominal fee and to subsidise the renovation of the buildings for an amount still to be agreed upon. With regard to District Six, the Church has decided to agree to integrated development because the land for development in District Six is very limited because the Technicon takes up most of the original land.⁵⁸⁹ This means that the Church would either be financially compensated or that the Church could opt for alternative property for new developments. The outcome of the Land Claims Court is still being awaited.

A second outstanding event that speaks for the public role of the Church is the aid that the Church, together with the community of Clarkson Mission Station, gave in resettling the Keiskammahoek people in the Tsitsikamma.⁵⁹⁰ These Mfengu people, who were entrusted to Clarkson congregation in 1838⁵⁹¹ after they were settled by the British colonial powers in the Tsitsikamma in 1837,⁵⁹² were forcefully removed by the apartheid regime in 1977. At the time they were uprooted, most of them belonged to the Moravian Church at Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal where the Church had a church building and a school; but others belonged to other denominations such as the Church of the Province.⁵⁹³ Even at Keiskammahoek, the Church followed the congregation and faithfully served them. It was to the Moravian Church that the Tsitsikamma Exile

congregation, under the leadership of the 90-year-old mother and ex-church council member, Maria Moolman, are already worshipping at the moment in the manse on the premises.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. Minutes of the Third Provincial Synod, June 2001.

⁵⁹⁰ The word is an old Khoi-Khoi word meaning "rushing waters".

⁵⁹¹ Cf. Theal II in Krüger, 1966: 198.

⁵⁹² Theal II in Krüger, 1966: 198. The Mfengu called their section of the Tsitsikamma blood-ground even today because it was granted as compensation for the blood they have shed on the Colonial side during the Frontier War (Cf. Krüger, 1966: 199).

⁵⁹³ Bishop Tutu is also a member of the Mfengu.

Association (TEA)⁵⁹⁴ turned in May 1991 to assist them in their homecoming. In 1992, the Government decided to heed the demand of the Mfengu and transferred 50 pieces of land near Clarkson on which the returning families could settle.⁵⁹⁵ This restitution of land claims was the first of its kind in SA. Only after careful planning with the local community regarding the infrastructure of the mission station, which had to service 50 resident plots, families could have the time to settle again on their ancestral properties.⁵⁹⁶ Yet, this resettling was not without problems. The Clarkson community expected a group of people that would play a central role in the civil life of the mission station and that would be integrated in the Church life. The Church even called a senior Xhosa-speaking minister to serve the new congregation. The integration, even on school level, proved more problematic than was expected during the original emotional excitement. However, not only Moravians came to settle at Clarkson but also people of other affiliations that did not want to be integrated into the Clarkson structures.⁵⁹⁷ This state of affairs has regrettably already changed the character of the mission station.⁵⁹⁸ Therefore, the changing character and constant traffic of people to Clarkson calls for a new administration and infrastructure that cannot anymore be managed by the old structure of minister and Overseers Council. Attempts are under way to have these civic

⁵⁹⁴ In April 1991 at a mass meeting in Keiskammahoek with the assistants of Lawyers to fight for the return to their land. The Secretary of the TEA is a Moravian Brother Makamba.

⁵⁹⁵ Minutes of the Provincial Board, July 1992.

⁵⁹⁶ After long legal action and various court cases another huge piece of adjacent land for 800 people in the vicinity of Clarkson was signed over to the TEA in 1996. This richly arable land is known as the "New Zealand of SA" because these farms are highly productive Dairy Farms. Most of the Farms are leased to the white ex-owners, which ensures great revenue for the TEA. Possibly the TEA could subsidise the much-needed town-planning development of Clarkson from this income.

⁵⁹⁷ Land and Development Task Group, Report to the Provincial Board, February 1996.

⁵⁹⁸ Robberies at gunpoint and murder, unheard of in the history of Clarkson, have already taken place and a dearly beloved member and shopkeeper, Frei (one of the few German members of the Church) had been murdered.

issues addressed by the newly founded Clarkson Civic Trust.⁵⁹⁹ It makes sense that the opening of the mission stations will lead to all sorts of changes. This experience at Clarkson is a huge concern for the future of the mission stations. Ways and means have to be designed that would make it possible to “respect and preserve the historical traditions, the character and cultural, educational and religious way of the communities” as had been agreed in the Genadendal Accord. Even so, the Clarkson event was a noble and humanitarian act, which serves as an example for the broader South African society. Restitution and reconciliation will come at a price and the government and society should support such attempts to make it work for the sake of nation building.

6.8 Summary

In summary it can be said that the experience of the Moravian Church in the public sphere during this period was a steep learning curve. The political situation started with the peaceful resistance of the ANC against the regime; but the escalating brutal oppression left the ANC with no other option than to call for violent resistance, which forced the Churches to rethink their position with regard to the oppressive political reality. The Moravian Church, having been a member of the SACC, the WCC and the LWF, was confronted with the radical theological reflection of the ecumenical church regarding political justice in SA. The leadership at the time did not share these insights with the congregation so that a political awareness could be developed. During the 60s the leadership was in the hands of expatriates who, in a very paternalistic way, claimed for themselves the responsibility of what was experienced as “a censoring of information.” Reports to congregations and to ministers were very vague and factual. Statements that were made about the political sphere were very diplomatically put to not create contention and it was never prophetic or radical. During the 60s, the Moravian Church never openly took a stand against the regime. Even the first generation of indigenous leaders had the same attitude towards congregates and the Church at large, with a few exceptions. They apparently believed that to speak out openly and to involve

⁵⁹⁹ A fact borne out in discussion with Rev N. Edson who serves in the Trust.

themselves in public politics would bring their office and the Church into disrepute. However, this in effect meant not taking responsibility for the oppressed of the broader society and perpetuating the status quo. There was always talk about informers and collaborators and it was obvious that the trust level in the Church was low and the fear-level high amongst the leaders. The same holds true for the relationship between the ministers and the congregations. However, it may also have been an escapist tactic to avoid the issues. The bulk of the Moravians during the 60s and 70s had no “defiance-political will”; instead, they were in the grip of a “police-state fear” that rendered them politically lethargic.

Sermons were easily branded as political should injustice be addressed, and people tried to influence other people by critically stating, “we have come to listen to the Word of God”.⁶⁰⁰ The fact that people could argue that (blind) obedience to the state is ordained by God and that the police and the magistrate were there to fairly punish the wrong doers, is evident of the prevalent ignorance. However, it was the Church leadership’s contention that the political witness of the ecumenical bodies with whom they actively worked together in thinking through the statements and actions was also their official position, unless otherwise qualified⁶⁰¹ as in the case of the WCC policy on “Combating Racism.” The criticism remains that the Church leadership did not effectively take their adherents along this road of resistance, with the result that they had no clear ecclesiastical and theological directive on active engagement in resisting apartheid. Fortunately, the younger adherents took up the baton and became the conscience of the people of God in the Moravian Church during the 70s and 80s. The fact that the Synod (1988) and the Board (now consisting of 7 members) embarked on the Standing for the Truth Campaign was the result of new blood in the Synod and on the Board. The new leadership showed

⁶⁰⁰ The “ostentation” in Krüger and Schaberg (1984: 140) by which the government introduced apartheid to ensure peaceful race relations has led many (especially in the Moravian Church and broader community) to believe that “law and order” under apartheid rendered all other action against apartheid illegal and evil and that such “perpetrators” were criminals.

⁶⁰¹ This also shows that the Moravian Church Board did not just slavishly follow the pronouncements of the ecumenical bodies.

more political will based on the theological principles⁶⁰² that the Church in the moment of Truth, the Kairos, has to do what it preaches and in this way give a clear theologically based directive of the official position of the Church to its membership. This theological stand effectively brought an end to its quietist tradition and its undeclared non-involvement in matters political or public since WWI and more so during apartheid. What is more, the Church, especially the leadership (the Board and all ministers), has publicly confessed by emphasising its guilt in tolerating and contributing for so long to the sin of apartheid. "For a long time we have either silently accepted or lamely expressed our opposition and condemnation of the evils within our divided and oppressive society."⁶⁰³

The Moravian Church, in the context of the ongoing healing of a broken South African society, has gallantly witnessed in becoming one church so that the Church has to play a sacramental role in spilling itself out of its comfort zone (its privatised religiosity) – ironically, even as a church of the poor; and to incarnate the biblical truth of the oneness into the publicness of society. It is not a privatised religious practice inside the walls of a building, or within the framework of church theology, but the public embodiment under the kenotic principle of suffering, sacrifice and sharing. South Africa, more than ever before, needs such public demonstrations of acceptance of one another across the divides of language, ethnic differences, social class and political persuasion and in sharing resources to build and heal our country. Who better than the Church to take the lead?

Simultaneously, the Church has put measures into place to further nurse Unity by means of educational and financial plans, as well as schemes of partnerships through actual visitations. The Church realises that it has embarked on a difficult road, but Synod has

⁶⁰² Schiewe (1998: 13) finds the Boards public statement in 1989 the most detailed and clearest analysis of the impact of *apartheid* on the situation in the country regarding poverty, unemployment and the education crisis. The Board makes it emphatically clear that it opposes the tri-cameral elections while 80% of the citizens are not represented. The Board unequivocally states that this system enshrines White privilege and White dominion and that the government has not got the voluntary mandate of the majority in respect of universal sovereign suffrage to govern the country.

⁶⁰³ Statement of Acceptance of the Rustenburg Declaration, 1991.

accepted this road in faith and in obedience to God. "We have reason to be glad, but at the same time we . . . had put ourselves in agony and ecstasy at the mercy of the challenges of the future. Therefore, we appeal to every individual member, to support every effort in strengthening the unity given by God. Unity gives strength: in Faith, Trust and Hope we want to take on the challenges of the future together."⁶⁰⁴ The Church has taken on these challenges in faith and in sensitivity to the claims of the new South African society.

The Church has learnt in the process that public decisions taken at Synodlevel and announcements in newsletters, the Church newspaper and sermons, however prophetic, are not enough to mobilise and evangelise a church. This was obvious in the apartheid-situation and with the unity movement and the property issue. People need to be conscientised (educated) comprehensively and the best way is to "workshop" issues locally with an aim of structuring ongoing interest groups.

In the next chapter, the aim is to draw all the configurations of being church in the public sphere over the periods in review together and to correlate these sporadic spontaneous manifestations with the structured, contemporary theological frameworks in the discourse about the public role of the Church (chapter 2). Based on these findings of the contemporary debate on the public church and an analysis of the socio-political context, guidelines will be designed with a view to assisting the MCSA in training the ministers and congregations for their witness in the public arena.

⁶⁰⁴ Pastoral Letter to the Congregations, April 1992.

CHAPTER 7

THE UNITED MORAVIAN CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGES OF BEING PUBLIC CHURCH WITHIN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION

All institutions exist for a purpose. When that purpose can no longer be attained, or falls away altogether, the social arrangement must be abandoned. That is how it has to be in a religious community, otherwise it becomes stale and moves only *ex opere operato*.

(Herrnhut Diarium, December 31, 1734.)

7.1 Introduction

In the problem statement the following question was posed: "In which way has at first the Moravian Mission (as an outside mission change agent) and later on the Moravian Church in South Africa, become instrumental in assisting the indigenous people to develop to their full potential as critical citizens in the South African public sphere? Did it strive to empower its adherents to act as full citizens and agents for transformation in the South African society according to the principles of the Reign of God?"

This primary question is further explored by means of the following secondary questions: Has it been quietist in that it contributed to a dualistic understanding, which justified a subjugated citizenship while withdrawing into a ghetto church domain of secluded mission stations? Emanating from these basic questions is the strategic planning question:

In what way could the Church play an effective and positive role in the public civil sphere to assist in bringing about transformation of the South African society? Therefore, what guidelines and principles can be derived from this historical missionary disposition of the Moravian Church for the Church today in its publicness?

In Chapter 2, a meta-theoretical framework for the public church has been discussed, which, it was argued, would serve as an epistemological tool to assess the publicness of the Moravian Church in South Africa. In Chapters 3 – 6, an extensive analysis was made of the role the Church played throughout its mission history and as an autonomous indigenous church.

In order to evaluate more effectively the manner in which the Church understood its public witness (in comparison with the epistemological key developed in chapter 2), a concluding resume will be made of the development of the early settlements at the Cape, followed by the configuration of the autonomous church. Based on the historical analysis, and according to the principles of the public church debate, guidelines will be offered for the MCSA – in particular in correlation with the problem statement and the hypothesis (taking into consideration the needs and challenges of the contemporary South African context) by which the Church can equip its members to become conscientious change agents, collectively and individually, for social transformation. The researcher argues that the Church, based on the modes of being public church, could function much more effectively through its members, although not exclusively so, than through its authorities and Synods within a given socio-political and economic context when the members are educationally and strategically equipped and mobilised for it. The Church is essentially called to function according to the principles and values of the Reign of Jesus Christ in society. Therefore, the Church as the divine proponent of the reconciled, transformed humanity prophetically and sacrificially serves “a broken” society (the public arena) with a view to its transformation according to the values of the reign of God.

7.2 The “publicness” of the South African Moravians in history

7.2.1 The Missionary Era

7.2.1.1 The Relationship of Church and State (the third public)

In the George Schmidt era, the Mission was public in its witness with regard to its continuous interaction with the governor on behalf of the mission work and the people (cf. 3.4.1: 86 – 102). The missionaries co-operated

with the Government in order to enhance the Mission work. They were in need of government protection and relied on the infrastructure provided by the government for the sake of expanding the mission work (cf. 3.4.2.1: 104). However, they did not regard themselves as in opposition to the government but neither did they see themselves as agents of the government. They were aware of the possibility that the government might want to co-opt them for political reasons, but such was also the tendency with the Xhosa chiefs (3.4.2.3: 122; 4.4: 147). They utilised these secular tendencies as a means to the end of spreading the Gospel.

As “good Lutherans”,⁶⁰⁵ they respected the governor for his sphere of authority, but Georg Schmidt already in his time complained that the governor was interfering in the sphere of the Church’s jurisdiction when the dispute between him and the Dutch Reformed “*dominees*” resulted from him baptising his adherents (3.4: 95 – 97). Within the sphere of land tenure, the mission in all respects endeavoured to secure the land for the inhabitants (3.4.3: 113 – 115; 3.4.2.4: 129 – 131; 4.5.2: 167). Consecutive regimes neglected to formalise ownership of the Grant Stations, which brought about grazing disputes between the inhabitants and the neighbouring farmers who aggressively infringed upon the boundaries of Mission settlements.

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. the Lutheran Two Kingdom Doctrine and the emphasis on the distinction between Law and Gospel demand that the righteousness of faith be clearly and sharply distinguished from civic righteousness. For Luther, and for much of the Lutheran tradition as well, worship, the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, has been sharply and clearly distinguished from political activity in order to preserve the distinction between the righteousness of faith and civic righteousness (Cf. Thiemann, 1991: 115 – 116). At the time (1734) Zinzendorf, the Protector of the Moravian Church on his estate, was examined by the Universities of Stralsund and Tübingen for certification as orthodox Lutheran and ordained in 1735 (Cf. KTh August, 1984, *Theologia Crucis* by Zinzendorf; AJ Freeman, 1970 *Twenty One Discourses on the Augsburg Confession* (Bethlehem Moravian Seminary, Pennsylvania p.7). The Moravian Church also accepted the Lutheran Confessional document, *Confessio Augustana*, as rule of faith (Cf. Zinzendorf 1753: ii).

The issue of the conscription of able-bodied men from the mission settlements and the subsequent intervention of the missionaries on behalf of the families that were left without any support while the breadwinners were protecting the country, was a bold public witness in which they showed their concern for the daily upkeep of the women and children. The missionaries succeeded in convincing the governor that it was his responsibility to provide for the respective families (3.4.22: 111 – 112).

The missionaries started the first indigenous military chaplaincy on request of the governor at Wynberg, but they refused to be in the direct employment of the government. It was not an easy decision, but due to pastoral considerations, they followed their flock to the soldier camp at Wynberg. Since not all the soldiers came from mission settlements, the missionary had a hard task in pursuing his charge. Nonetheless, he had already had a taste of ministry within a pluralistic and secular society outside the mission-controlled settlements (3.4.2: 120 – 121).

The relationship between the Mission and State was always clouded by the fact that the Moravian Mission was a German entity and therefore an alien influence tolerated by the “Dutch Reformed society” at the Cape (cf. 3.4: 97 – 98). They came to do mission work on a concession of the erstwhile Dutch authorities and as the Cape changed hands amongst the colonial powers, the issue of property and a fixed abode was always a very sensitive and uncertain one for the Moravian Mission. There were also the speculation and suspicion that the Moravians came to do mission work in the country under false pretence.

The issue of the pastoral and ecclesiastical rights of the missionaries during the Batavian regime was always a point of dispute between the Moravian missionaries and the official Dutch Church. The Dutch Reformed Church considered itself as the official state Church and showed little doctrinal

tolerance to other denominations (3.4: 95 – 96, 98). During the time of the British, the missionaries even sought support through their colleagues in Britain with a view of influencing officials in parliament (3.4.2.4: 130 – 131). Overall, one could deduce that the Moravians at the time had a very pragmatic attitude towards the secular authorities.

7.2.1.2 The Mission and Peoples' empowerment (second and third public)

From a very early stage, the inhabitants were helped to erect simple structures for each family and were taught to respect the neighbour's property. With Christian education (teaching) in the centre of the community's life, the inhabitants were trained to read and write, to garden and herd their livestock properly to protect the interest of the common good. Thus skills- training was an integral component of empowering the people (3.4.2: 105; 127 – 129; 4.2.3: 135 – 137).

Schmidt and his successors had the protection of the inhabitants against the exploiting interest of the colonists in common. The inhabitants, contrary to the unsubstantiated complaints of the colonists, were trained in living disciplined, productive and orderly civilian lives on the mission stations. Law and order were enhanced by the "brotherly agreement" and by civilian councils from the ranks of the community (4.2.3: 135; 4.3: 140). The dispute with Somerset regarding his idea that the mission stations should serve as work colonies brought the colonists' complaints about the mission stations as "hovels of vagabonds" into the open. The missionaries regarded the mission settlements as Christian centres of learning where people were taught skills and self-reliance. This obviously did not serve the selfish interests of the colonists, who wanted to use the inhabitants as a source of cheap labour, or the military interest of the governor to use them to fight the colonial frontier wars (4.5.3: 168 – 171; 4.5.2: 166). No wonder the mission settlements were regarded by the indigenous people as the only places of

refuge where they could enjoy protection against exploitation and where they were educated and treated with respect as human beings.

By educating the people, the missionaries also wanted to prevent them from being exploited by the shrewd farmers. In this way, the missionaries protected the rights of the indigenous people. At times, they would publicly protest to the governor if farmers infringed on the rights of the inhabitants and of the Khoi-Khoi from other areas who voluntarily moved to the mission settlements (4.5.3: 168 – 174)

Genadendal, as all other Moravian mission settlements at the time, became a centre of education and industry. The school was compulsory for all inhabitants. People were also taken into apprenticeships as thatchers, masons, carpenter, millers, cart-wrights, printers, bookbinders, cartridge transport riders and they were taught the basic skills of farming.

It could be argued that the mission settlements became centres of culture, for the people became educated, learnt to play musical instruments and were organised in choirs. Regrettably not much of the original culture of the people remained. Because Schmidt found it too difficult to master their language he latched onto the Dutch that some of them could already speak, with the result that their language fell into disuse. With the Moravian understanding of religion, some customs, like the Khoi-Khoi dancing, were not approved of. What is more, in order to educate and empower them they had to be conditioned into having a fixed abode and this change in lifestyle also resulted in the lost of corresponding customs and practices of a nomadic lifestyle. Overall, the acculturation to the Moravian way of life and ethos empowered the Khoi-Khoi to survive the European dehumanising onslaught on their property and livelihood, on their humanness and self-worth.

7.2.1.3 *The Mission and Market Economy (second and third public)*

In order to protect the inhabitants of the Mission settlements against the exploitation of the farmers who gave the workers wine and foodstuff on credit with the intention of forcing them to remain in their employ, the missionaries started shops on the mission settlements with the aim to supply them with the basic livelihood. These businesses, such as shops (the Moravian Mission Stores which were the first chain stores in South Africa), butcheries and blacksmiths and silversmiths (3.4.2: 116 – 117, 127 – 128), became the affiliates of the Moravian Mission Trade Company, which was exclusively a mutual company for the benefit of the world wide mission and subsequently for the upkeep of the missionaries (4.3: 144, 172 – 173, 175,182).

All property was registered in the name of this company, which under the colonial and later the apartheid regime unfortunately excluded the historically disadvantaged people from sharing directly in the assets and the policy or decision-making structures (5.3: 204, 206 – 207). However, the proceeds were used in financing the missionaries to do the missionary expansion work among the indigenous people. Moreover, this work included erecting buildings for worship, education and industry, dwellings for the missionaries and their upkeep, as well as for the pastoral, educational, diaconal and development work (5.3: 209 – 211).

7.2.1.4 *The Mission and Public values: The quality of human life*

The Moravian Missionaries came to the “wretched of the earth”⁶⁰⁶ at a time when even the State Church at the Cape had no hope that the Khoi-Khoi would ever be converted to the Christian faith (De Boer and Temmers 1987: 5; cf. August in Hofmeyr 2002: 58). The main interest of the governor and

⁶⁰⁶ Frantz Fanon published a book by this title in 1963 to portray the Algerian revolution as a model for other liberation struggles in Africa in which, according to Sartre “the Third World finds itself and speaks to itself through His voice.”

the United East Indian Company was in bartering with them for their livestock as provision for their ships (cf. Omer-Cooper 1987: 18). The colonists saw them only as soft targets to estrange from their land and livestock and to exploit for their labour (cf. Balie 1988: 11). The Moravians, however, regarded them theo-anthropologically⁶⁰⁷ as “souls for the Lamb” together with all God’s people on earth. In fact, the Moravians regarded the converts from amongst the Khoi-Khoi as equals with the “first fruit” (see Addendum D) from amongst all the nations of the earth as the Saviour’s compensation by God for his meritorious death.⁶⁰⁸

The missionaries were very proud of their mission work and conscientiously tried to influence public opinion regarding the mission work by regularly visiting or inviting influential people. In that way the mission was always in the public eye (3.4: 93; 104, 108 – 121, 128 – 131; 4.3: 142, 144 – 145; 4.4.3: 151 – 152). Even other mission societies came to Genadendal to study the Moravian model on the recommendation of the governor before embarking on their expeditions (4.3: 137, 143). Genadendal had a constant flow of visitors, which opened up the mission for much praise but also severe criticism from within and from without, which was mainly due to the autocratic manner of the missionaries. The authority and accountability of the missionaries were continuously questioned and challenged (4.4: 171 – 174). The Moravian mission was indeed people-centred in their approach to mission and they indisputably had an integrated, developmental and holistic approach with a view to equipping the people for life.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ The Moravian *anthropology* informed by their *theology* of humankind (*theo-anthropology*) as viewed through the love of God in Christ for humankind (Cf. August 1985: 4; 147. The new man is the future man – the man of the resurrection out of death, the man within the future of God in Christ).

⁶⁰⁸ In a portrait painted by Johann Valentin Haidt (now in Zeist Moravian Church in the Netherlands) “Der Hottentot Kibbido” (one of Georg Schmidt’s first baptised) is also depicted as one of the first fruits (Cf. Rev. 14:4c) in correlation with the Moravian theology and anthropology.

⁶⁰⁹ Thomas Pringle in Balie, 1988: 75 writes as follows about the life in Genadendal: “to see the heathen taught – the lost sheep found, the blind restored – the long-oppress’d set free.” No outsider as critical as

The philanthropists like John Philip fought for the rights of the Khoi-Khoi, and the exponent of the liberals, Thomas Pringle, achieved the freedom of the press at the Cape, while the farmers resented especially the fight of the British missionaries for the rights of the indigenous peoples (4.3: 145 – 146). Ironically, it was the farmers who used the freedom of the press that was intended to serve the philanthropic movement on behalf of the welfare of the indigenous people to attack the Moravian missionaries about their monopoly in business and their autocratic rule of the mission settlements. The missionaries had no other option but to defend their position in the open press, although they did not support Philip's method of public political action (4.3: 146).

The collaboration with the government regarding the mission to the leprosy victims at Hemel-en-Aarde and later on Robben Island (social diaconia outside the mission confines) shows the public responsibility the Mission was prepared to take, even with the less than fortunate, when it came to health issues and medical care (4.5: 160). This was a public intervention for which the Moravian missionaries did not get due credit in the history of this country and especially of Robben Island.

The worship services at the mission settlement were from the inception not restricted to the inhabitants only but open to anybody, even to the farmers. In Elim the inhabitants' children, as well as those of the farmers, attended the Sunday school (3.4: 127; 4.3: 140). Many government officials and visitors attended the public worship services at Genadendal especially. The missionaries regarded their ministry as a ministry to the aborigine but would also minister to anyone, whether governor or peasant, in need of pastoral care. Colonists also asked the missionaries to teach their children, but they

Pringle could have described the liberation (other would prefer transformation) work of the missionaries amongst the Khoi-Khoi and the slaves better.

had to decline because of their mandate and the agreement with the colonial authorities (3.4: 110).

In summary, what can be deduced from the Moravian ethos and community forming approach to being church? The sociological perspective developed by Gillian Gollin (1967) in analysing the character of social change in the Old World and New World settlements of the Moravians in the eighteenth century is of great help in adapting it to the Cape mission settlements of the same time.

The central emphasis placed upon the cultivation of personal piety had led to the development of a vast body of ethical precepts, which spelled out in detail the conduct deemed appropriate to any given situation. The regulation of the social life in the community bears ample testimony to the degree to which the concern with religious goals dominated and overruled all other considerations. In theory, the Moravians upheld the sanctity of private property, and technically never appropriated the possessions of their members (3.3: 81 – 83).

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the political institutions of the Moravians showed no clear line of demarcation between sacred and secular authority. Structural differentiation of authority was clearly demarcated. Theoretically, Christ as Chief Elder of the community had supreme authority over secular and sacred affairs. In practice, the extensive use of the lot to ascertain the Saviour's will on a given issue gave a central place to theocratic authority in communal affairs and acted as an important check on the development of democratic rule in some and autocratic rule in other situations (3.3: 77 – 78).

The norms of Christian brotherhood rather than the pursuit of profit continued to guide economic conduct. We have documented numerous

instances of changes taking place in this community. Nevertheless, none of these changes seriously threatened the dominant value system of the community or succeeded in transforming the major social, political, or economic institutions of the settlement (3.3: 83 – 85).

The Moravians were, because of their missionary work, exposed to the secular influences of the outside world. Due to their devotion to missionary work, members were exposed to secular values for considerable periods. Indeed, the more active their missionary enterprises the more they were exposed to the values of the secular world. Under such circumstances, their attempts to create religiously exclusive communities could never be wholly successful, for, unlike the Mennonites, their very adherence to their religious goals prevented them from withdrawing into a self-contained little society, and so evade the dangers of competing value systems (cf. Gollin 1967: 223).

The external political environment to which the members of the community were constantly exposed constituted the determinants for change and political assessment of the rule. The constant farmer threat, war, ecclesiastical opposition and envy, as well as government requirements placed the Moravian settlements in the centre of political action, not only intensifying their contacts with the world beyond the boundaries of the Missions settlements but also exposing them to values diametrically opposed to their own.

What consequences of religious interests were there for other aspects of the social structure of their communities? In part, it may be attributed to the fact that the Moravian religious values explicitly enjoined them from their material well-being. It may also be attributed to the fact that their exclusive concern with religious ends tended to distort their analysis of the conditions and means whereby such ends could be achieved. They frequently

obstructed the realisation of economic and socio-political goals in the macro environment, which had to be realised if the community was to survive as a prominent player in the mainstream of political development in the country.

It should be realised that the extent to which an ideology fails to meet the interests of categories of individuals in the society, it will generate conflicts which, when not resolved by mechanisms of social control, will lead to changes in the social structure, or even the value system of the community.

One can conclude that neither the social structure nor the value system of the society is likely to change unless there are actual or perceived conflicts between its component elements and there exist, objectively as well as subjectively, the facilities to resolve these conflicts. The changes in the Moravian value systems were the result of the interaction between concrete social structures, specific historical circumstances and the inherent tendencies in the institutional factor as such.

7.2.2 The Autonomous Church

During the period of the autonomous church (the Church within the apartheid context and after 1994 (1960 – 2001)), the Church showed its potential for lethargy (private church theology) as well as for advocacy (public prophetic theology). This dualism, which is not unique to the Moravians, has haunted the Church throughout its history and witness.⁶¹⁰

⁶¹⁰ This tension is also demonstrated by the debate on the American sociologist Bellah's article in *Daedalus* (1967: 1 – 21) which provided the catalyst for a series of debates in the American context about the concept "American civil religion" and the deployment thereof in the cultural and political debates. This resulted in commentators distinguishing between two broad, and opposing, versions of "American civil religion", defining them as "prophetic and liberal" on the one hand and "priestly and conservative" on the other. The "prophetic" version tends to emphasize commitment to broad values such as justice and liberty, to focus on issues such as civil rights, disarmament and ecology. Civil religion was understood to have a vital role in judging the country itself and recalling the nation to its own highest standards. The "priestly" version by contrast is inclined to celebrate and affirm the belief of the state and the nation having a divinely appointed

An analysis based on the six configurations of being church will assist us in getting clarity on the strength and weaknesses of the Church during this period:

- The Moravian Church as worshipping community;
- The Moravian Church as local community;
- The Moravian Church as denomination;
- The Moravian Church as part of the ecumenical fellowship;
- The Moravian Church as voluntary organisation (faith based organisation (FBO) in partnership with other people's movements);
- The Moravian Church and its individual believers.

In its fellowship, the Moravian church has always been open to all people irrespective of race and culture. Since communication is an integral part of fellowship, language is a prominent feature of that fellowship, especially with regard to the ethnic groups in the Church. Afrikaans was the main medium of preaching and general communication in the SAW and Xhosa in the SAE, and English became the lingua franca for joint meetings as well as for cross-cultural ministry. This again obviates problems of pastoral care and preaching.

For many years, the Moravians were divided along racial lines, based on a structure that was originally designed for effective mission outreach and pastoral care. Within the legally entrenched apartheid context, the Church community was estranged and divided. Very disheartening is the fact that almost all the German missionary descendants joined other White churches (cf. 2002 statistics of the MCSA). Thus the *Koinonia* within the denomination, which the Moravians regard as a pillar of Christianity, suffered a great setback. Fortunately, this was continuously addressed by the leadership and overcome when the Church became one church as part of

role, is more likely to uphold traditional moral values and appeals to a generally uncritical acceptance of the correctness and goodness the nations values and their influence in the world (Parsons, G. 2002: 3 – 4).

the Church's witness in addressing the divides caused by apartheid. During the apartheid era, the Church deliberately employed overseas German workers in ministry, development and welfare work (in co-operation with its overseas ecumenical partners) as ecumenical workers who enjoyed the same status as the indigenous church worker, while serving as a witness in the apartheid context.

However, due to the commitment and vision of the Church leadership at the start and later in the 80s and 90s, the Church as a whole (through its Synods) succeeded in addressing in an ecclesiastical spirit of *marturea* and *koinonia* the divides of language, culture, geographic factors, educational differences and financial constraints in uniting the Church.

Racial issues with the elements of prejudice and suspicion and economic issues are still negative forces that the Church, at all levels, has to deal with in growing into more than an organic unity.

During the 60s and 70s, the sermons were in the main expositions of the biblical text with few applications to the political and economic situation.⁶¹¹ Many would say it was out of fear of the security police, but it was also due to the kind of ministerial formation that the majority of ministers at the time had undergone. Some ministers, of whom some were harassed and banned, addressed the socio-political issues of the day, but they were in the minority. In the context of the local Moravian settlements, the everyday issues were addressed and sermons were contextual but it rarely addressed the macro-sphere political factors as causes for the local situation. From the 60s until the 70s one could speak of a "church theology". The liturgies are still very traditional and not many efforts have been made to bring the contemporary life experience of the worshipper before God; this was even more so during the oppression of the apartheid regime. The Church does however pray in

⁶¹¹ During discussions at ministers fraternals, confessions of this nature were made.

the General Church Prayer for governments “so that the power that God has given them may be used to enhance and maintain peace” and God is also asked to “help that all nations may live in a just order and true freedom in order that the congregation may serve you without disturbance.” (Laudate 1983: 661). The prayer was very vague and removed from the political evils of the day and the resultant anger and pain the people were suffering from the oppression, humiliation and exploitation at the hand of White Christians and the government. The core of the apartheid regime was the greed of the “European (descendants)” and it was therefore economic oppression. Despite being a church predominantly of the worker-class, the sermons and the liturgies never really covered the economic exploitation of the worker on whose backs the Europeans built a first world South Africa for “Whites only”, while excluding the majority from enjoying the fruits of their labour by means of the apartheid laws.

However, apart from youth services and a few ministers that designed liturgies with the explicit purpose of bringing the political suffering of the people before God not much has happened creatively. This worship practice resulted in a dichotomy between the official church religion and the private religious experience of the adherent. In this sense, the Church liturgy was privatised and did not address the public experience of the members in a faith context. During those years, *didache* did not serve the purpose of forming Christians for responsible public and political roles. In the confirmation classes, the young members were taught to become good Moravians in the sense of being good members that would adhere to the Church requirements and to be “respectable law-abiding citizens” (which did not prepare the members for critical reflection on public policy and did not include political action and civil disobedience). During the 70s, some Moravians partook in mass action and demonstrations for political or social change but that was outside the walls of the Church, i.e. not with the support or consent of the official Church.

However, the Church grew gradually into prophetic theology due to pressure from its younger clergy and the youth movement under the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement, Black- and African Theology. The Christian Institute also played a major role in conscientising a growing number of ministers under the guidance of the seminary lecturers.⁶¹² The subsequent influence of the United Democratic Front under Allan Boesak further stimulated the ministers in reconstructing special liturgies and sermons that addressed the suffering of the people, protesting against the evils of apartheid and agitating for justice, human dignity, a democratic dispensation and the end of unjust rule. Issues of economic injustice and the position of the worker were taken up in special liturgies prayed on worker Sundays, which were unheard of in the past. In the 80s, the public policy of the World Council of Churches greatly contributed towards building an environmental, developmental, economic and political consciousness under the theme Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation from a theological perspective. The Lutheran World Federation with its programmes, e.g. Decade of Women, helped the Church to develop strong programmes for gender equality within its circles. The Human Rights Charter of the United Nations entrenched in the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution greatly helped the Moravian Church to come to a renewed theological understanding of the place of humanity within the *Missio Dei*.

In educational circles, the Moravian Church played a mammoth role in providing schools and even calling and appointing teachers in collaboration with the State, but never criticised the apartheid school system publicly. The Church organised teachers' conferences but the resolutions were not

⁶¹² In this regard, Henning Schlimm and Wolfgang Schaeffer (who were lecturers at the Moravian Theological seminary in the 70s) also provided the theological grounding for the younger generation by running 'brainstorming' groups who discussed and analysed the South African society on the basis of *Pro Veritatis* and the Spröcas reports.

made public or shared with the education authorities.⁶¹³ Therefore, one could argue that the *maturea* function in this respect could not fully be adhered to due to the kind of theology that informed the Church in its preaching, liturgy and teaching in the 70s.

Within its ecumenical appearance the Church remained faithful to the prophetic voice although the youth of the Church felt that the Church was hiding too much behind its ecumenical relations when it came to its public responsibility. The leadership argued that the small Moravian Church could effectively avoid victimisation by speaking together with the Church at large. The Church was active on all levels of the ecumenical church and even played leadership roles within these circles, on the regional, national and international levels. The Standing for the Truth campaign of the South African Council Churches was a very successful project in the 80s, which revitalised in the Moravians their public calling and awareness towards their collective and individual public role.

In the sphere of *diaconia*, the Church did play a major role.⁶¹⁴ Through its schools, crèches, hostels for students and workers, clinics, the welfare work the Church made a major contribution to civic life in the rural, as well as urban areas. Although the welfare work was very institutionalised and

⁶¹³ The researcher was also part of the conferences and a product of the system and is therefore an oral source. Individual teachers belonged to the teachers associations and were even the leaders of the two major associations amongst the so-called coloured group. Especially the Teachers League of SA was the most outspoken against "gutter education" and many of its members were banned from public speech, amongst them also Moravians.

⁶¹⁴ Bishop Ulster, now an octogenarian, is the one person who steered the welfare work of the Church on many levels and publicly remonstrated for the fair treatment of all our country's children as far as government subsidies are concerned. Even under the apartheid regime, he was acknowledged as a person of high profile who could head the national Welfare Department. However, due to the policy of non-collaboration in the Church he did not avail himself, as it would not have been politically sound in the 70s to do so.

centralised, the local congregations to a large extent partook in this aspect of being church in the public arena. These institutions served the whole community irrespective of race or class.

Through its mission settlements the Church provided skilled artisans to the labour market throughout the country. With its Masezakhe project the Church tried to further create employment, especially but not exclusively for the deep rural communities. Unfortunately, through mismanagement and dishonesty some local people tragically spoilt this endeavour, which forced the Church to put the programme on hold for the time being. The development work done in a modernistic sense on the mission settlements with the provision of water and electricity systems and other community services was a success.⁶¹⁵ However, these developments were top-down and still very centralised with the result that the local communities do not really own the projects. These development solutions and options, which emanate from the centres of power, in this case the donor and the Church Board, as often as not, increased the plight of the marginalised and their consciousness remain dim. The aim should be to build a strong local civil society in order that the development organisation is able to permeate, and be permeated by, the individuals and social groupings that it serves. People-centred development⁶¹⁶ demands interpenetration. The development organisation must be open to being affected by those whom it hopes to affect. Facilitation is above all a working together, a collaborative learning. The Church has learnt since its regional Synod in 1992⁶¹⁷ that development is a

⁶¹⁵ After the initial effort of Rev K. Schieffer, who was chiefly responsible for the first electricity scheme Genadendal, the Rev. Frans Engel, who held the portfolio of finance, was the person on the Church Board mainly responsible for these projects.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. August, 1999: 29 – 38 for a theological base-theory regarding the Church's role in people-centred integrated community development based on *the incarnational nature* of the Church.

⁶¹⁷ At the Regional Synod in 1992 the very thorough researched report of the Town-planning Commission was tabled and thoroughly debated (Cf. The Final Report of the Town-planning Commission (June, 1992) on the future of the Moravian mission stations, it is recommended by the commission that "when

subtle and sensitive undertaking. It lies primarily in interventions, which leave people better able to take control of their own life circumstances. It demands the highest form of consciousness, for it involves the balance of the polarities of intervention into peoples' lives on the one hand, and respect for the integrity and freedom of these same people on the other. Indeed, it implies interventions for the sake of that freedom; assuming responsibility for others in a manner that leaves people capable of acting for themselves. The ultimate objective then is fully conscious individuals and organisations that recognise their interdependence with others and with the macro-environment and who are able to act productively, responsibly and freely – people and organisations that are able to meet the future creatively and freshly.⁶¹⁸

As far as the relation between Church and State is concerned, the Church for the first time in its contextual history since its momentous declaration in the 80s that the nationalist government is illegitimate has come to accept the hegemony of a democratically elected government after 1994. The people of this country have rightfully and legally attained universal franchise, guaranteed by a bill of rights for full citizenship.⁶¹⁹

considering new development, conservation or upgrading projects in the future, the Church and local communities should find ways by which a transfer of skills could take place. More eligible local inhabitants should be trained in project management and business administration in order to be able to take charge of local projects.”

⁶¹⁸ Cf. Kaplan, 1996: 119 – 120. Allan Kaplan (1996: xiii), by his own self admission, “went or was sent as a community worker to ‘do development work’ ” in the Wupperthal settlement in the 80’s. He was sent by the Moravian Church authorities, although he had no training nor was this expected of him for the Church authorities that sent him assumed at the time “that community development work was an ad hoc and informal non-discipline in which one bumbled along hoping to find one’s feet, or not as the case may be.” Today, although Allan Kaplan has become a recognised and respected development practitioner with vast regional, national and global development experience, he still “think[s] back on [his] experiences” at Wupperthal in the Cedarberg mountains “with gratitude, appreciation and love, and realise[s]...that the kernel of [his] development practice was formed then.”

⁶¹⁹ Furthermore, the Church’s position is made abundantly clear in the CO MCSA (2000:3-4) # 3.5:

7.3 Towards a programme for public theology based on the Moravian Church profile in South Africa⁶²⁰

7.3.1 Meta-orientation

The view of the role the Church should fulfil in a community or the public role of the Church is not a new one. It has been put forward in many different historical times and situations, and in numerous countries. The person that expresses this view very amicably is Hauerwas (1988): “the social ethics of the Church is to be the Church.” This articulates the issue of the how. It makes sense that the Church has to be extremely cautious in how it becomes openly involved in public events of a political, economic or social nature as not to implicate the true nature of the Church’s calling.⁶²¹ That the Church in the apartheid-past played “a most unusual role due to the political vacuum” of leaders and organisations in the oppressed community⁶²² and that there was in view of that role an understandable cry for the Church in the aftermath of apartheid to return to “a certain basic calling”(Smit 1993: 10), does not alter the calling and task of the Church with regard to its public role. I agree with Smit (1993: 11) that the Church “particularly at this stage [even in 2003] in South Africa, also has an

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1. The MCSA recognises the authority and laws of the state when and where they relate to the Church’s involvement with the law and civil rights on condition that such participation is not contrary to God’s word;
 2. The MCSA appreciates the protection on the part of the authorities as well as the acceptance by the authorities that freedom of religion in confession and assembly is a basic right of the Church;
 3. The MCSA undertakes to use this freedom in a responsible manner to advance the development of justice and peace;
 4. The MCSA claims the right to full freedom of assembly for the purpose of practising Christianity, for church work and for the incorporation of legal bodies for the ownership of properties and funds for the purposes of church activities;
 5. The MCSA recognises the God-given calling at all times to address governments, institutions and the community prophetically and as God’s witness.

⁶²⁰ See Addendum C.

⁶²¹ Hau Cf. Smit, 1993: 7 Changed Views in a Time of Change.

⁶²² Buthelezi, M and Tutu D in Smit, 1993: 8, 9.

obligation to act in the public arena"; and (in the words of Bonhoeffer) "not to fight for its self-preservation, as though it were an end in itself." If that would be the case the Church would miss its purpose and it would be "incapable of taking the word of reconciliation and redemption to humankind and the world."⁶²³

Biblically speaking, the pre-eminent activity of the Church is in the public arena, not in the sanctuary. The impact of the sanctuary on those who enter it is enormous, for people, especially from amongst the poor that enter it find hope, determination and trust in God. Nevertheless, the attraction of the sanctuary can become a seduction. The sanctuary may serve only as a comfortable substitute for the harsh realities outside its walls (Jacobsen 2001: 13 – 14). The Church enters the public arena because it is mandated to do so by the Great Commission of Jesus. The Church is sent by its Lord into the world under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to "make disciples"; "baptizing and teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you" (Mt. 28: 19 – 20). Therefore, the primary concern of the Church in the public arena is not church growth in order to fill the pews of the sanctuary. The Church is sent into the public arena with the ethical imperatives of Jesus. The Church is to proclaim the kingdom of God over against the kingdoms of the world with its "this-worldliness" (Bonhoeffer⁶²⁴). This is the terrain where the Church encounters God in his encounter with those who suffer in the world. In entering the public arena, the Church stays true to itself and remains faithful to its Lord who was anointed in the Spirit "to bring good news to the poor . . . to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free" (Lk. 4: 18 – 19). Therefore, it is sent into the public arena with the same mission as its Lord (*Missio Dei*), which renders the evangelic-proclamation of the Church liberative and transformative.

⁶²³ Bonhoeffer in Jacobsen (2001: 14 – 15).

⁶²⁴ Bonhoeffer in Jacobsen (2001: 14 – 15).

7.3.2 Institutional disposition

The Moravian Church, due to its profile,⁶²⁵ has realised this responsibility by having called into being a Commission for Christian Citizenship and the Commission for Town Planning and Mission Stations that have to work on public issues in conjunction with the Church's Department of Development, *Diaconia* and Welfare and the Department of Christian Education, Mission and Evangelism and the Church Board. Yet again, the how of its public theology and witness have to be critically worked out and this research is a first attempt to assist the Church in that responsibility. Let us therefore first look at the terms of reference of these bodies as they articulate the areas and issues of concern:

7.3.2.1 *The Commission for Christian Citizenship*⁶²⁶

The Commission devotes continuous attention to topical issues in our country, society and church community that promote or obstruct justice, peace and reconciliation with the intention of giving guidance to parishioners about their Christian responsibility in order to cope with such matters.

7.3.2.2 *The Commission for Town Planning and Mission Stations, in conjunction with the local Overseer Councils*⁶²⁷

Area of operation shall be town planning, water supply, sewerage, electricity, household refuse, storm water drainage, road-building, taxes, rental, capital funds, utilisation of agricultural land, socio-economic studies,

⁶²⁵ It needs to be stated again for the sake of clarity that the MCSA out of necessity has to build strong civil associations for and due to its mission settlements. Unfortunately, due to apartheid the members could not practice this sense of citizenship in the larger political and civil environment over the years. The Moravians from childhood in the settlements are trained to have a good sense of civil rights, obedience and responsibility, of productivity and community. They have a strong sense of law and order, of authority and citizen.

⁶²⁶ COMCSA, 2000 Ordinances for the Synodal Commissions #4.

⁶²⁷ COMCSA, 2000 #4.2 w. r. t. Ordinances for Synodal Commissions.

feasibility studies, security of tenure, health and community life, law and order, liaison with public authorities, heritage and environment preservation.

7.3.2.3 The Department of Christian Education, Mission and Evangelism

This department shall execute the calling of the Church by making the Commission of Jesus Christ a reality in the lives of his disciples by means of the following:

- To go into the world and make disciples;
- To be worthy witnesses for him;
- To carry out our calling faithfully;
- To equip his followers for this by means of information, training and educational programs so that every Christian can be cognisant of her/his calling.

This can only come to fruition if the Church contributes to the public discourse about mutual interest (common good), participates in the debate about mutual values, helps to spread essential information and helps to conscientise its adherents. Further to the actualisation of these noble objectives, the Church should help inform people about their civil rights and civil duties, help to solve conflicts about issues of mutual public interest and be instrumental in building a caring society. Indeed the challenge for theology is to find a way within the social, cultural and religious pluralism of politics, i.e. to influence the development of public policy without seeking to construct a new Christendom or lapsing into benign moral relativism (cf. Thiemann 1991: 173).

7.3.3 A critique on the “conservative” role of the Church in the public arena

In order to assist the Church it is necessary to analyse the existing traditional role of the Church by asking what the nature of the Church’s work in the public arena is? Jacobsen (2001: 20 – 24) discusses four popular approaches in this respect, viz. works of mercy (direct service), advocacy, action by

resolution and church social statements. It is clear that the practical, working theology of the Moravian congregations as of most churches who are engaged in social ministry is largely devoted to food pantries, homeless shelters, or campaigns to generate money for worthy causes. Clearly, the merit of such an approach cannot be disputed. These issues are central to the teachings of Jesus (cf. Mat. 25: 34 – 40). However, the work of mercy is considerably limited if done without regard to systemic injustice. The Church has to understand and educate its members about the systemic causes of poverty if it wants to challenge and transform poverty.⁶²⁸

In order to avoid a do-gooder approach the Churches embarked on an advocacy approach. In most cases the problem with advocacy is that it at best brings about exceptions to the rule. They are able to create individual justice for the moment but lack the power to create the systemic justice that is lasting.

Action by resolution is another means by which some churches seek to engage the public arena. The three engines that the Moravian church has so amicably engaged in facing up to its public role had been heatedly debated on the Synod floor. Little in the way of conscience or courage comes out of these resolutions. They normally hold no substance, no advantage and no strategy beyond the minutes of Synod; unless a public policy resolution is attached to a judicatory budget.

The same holds true for church social statements. Church bureaucrats, theologians, bishops, task forces, and commissions study, research, deliberate, and debate this or that social issue. Considerable resources of time, money, and energy are squandered in the preparation of thick documents that few people bother to read and eventually only serve as references for citation in future church documents. All too often, the Church

⁶²⁸ For an extensive discussion on these causes, see Burkey, 1993.

deludes itself into imagining that it has now taken a bold and courageous public stand.

Justice ministries are about systemic change where unjust or oppressive conditions are prevalent. Justice ministries are initiated by articulating the vision of a better world and legitimating members who are committed to trying to change the oppressive policies and procedures of existing institutions, including schools, courts, corporations, and, yes, even churches.

The question as to how to involve the ministers and members of local congregations still needs to be answered. However, before embarking on this strategic and final step, it is necessary to attempt a contextual analysis of the needs of the South African macro environment in which the Moravian Church has to fulfil its public role.

7.3.4 The Needs or Challenges of the South African Macro Environment

In conjunction with what Smit (1993: 11 – 23) already alluded to in 1993, I want to elaborate on the following challenges that the South African churches are confronted with for the immediate future in the local context.

7.3.4.1 Contributing in establishing a democratic culture

The Church has the moral obligation to train its members and the nation to think and act democratically. In 1993, Smit (1993: 12) was of the opinion that the Church and therefore the Christians were not prepared to know what democracy meant, what it ought and could mean in this country and what form democracy should take to best serve our specific context⁶²⁹. I am

⁶²⁹ However, it is Stanley Hauerwas (1981: 12), the theological ethicist, who insists that the “church does not exist to provide an ethos for democracy or any other form of social organization.” Fundamentally, this might not be the Church’s first priority and the Church cannot be equated with any system of government, but Bonhoeffer (1976: 352) is quite positive about the Church’s position regarding the form of government when he writes, “There is justification for asking which form of the state offers the best guarantee for the

convinced that we had to learn very fast and that we are still learning how to live democratically and to know what our responsibilities and rights are within a democracy. The moral state of the nation explained below (cf. footnote 636) is an indication that we have a long way to go in finding an effective model for a South African democratic system. However, the Church has to work out in partnership with government and civil society tactics⁶³⁰ for equipping the nation to live responsibly in our fledgling democracy, even though “the relationship between Christianity and democracy has been ambiguous for much of their respective histories.”⁶³¹

fulfilment of the mission of government and should, therefore, be promoted by the Church.” Thus, the Church has the responsibility, grounded in theological conviction, to assist government in working out the best form of democracy that would serve the common good the best in South Africa (cf. De Gruchy, 1995: 10 – 12).

⁶³⁰ Van Zyl Slabbert in Smit (1993: 12) stated that there are two steps which are to be clearly distinguished, namely “strategies and tactics to lead to democracy.” According to Smit we at the time had no clarity on the second issue. The Moravian Church also has the responsibility to assess whether it can still help in working out tactics to move the nation closer to democratic living.

⁶³¹ De Gruchy (1995: 8 – 12) discusses at length the “ambiguous” relationship between Christianity and democracy, which reflects both the divergent tendencies in the Christian movement (conservative, reformist, radical) as well as those within the revolution of democracy (liberal and socialist). Wolfgang Huber (1992:35) aptly reminds us that the “affinity” of Christian faith to democratic values (cf. Karl Barth, “The Christian Community and the Civil Community” in Barth, 1960 *Community, State and Church*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 181) has been severely compromised by the historical distance of churches towards democracy. However, it is De Gruchy’s conviction that “western Christendom undoubtedly provided the womb within which the (contemporary) democratic system, gestated and it also contributed decisively to the shaping of the democratic *vision* through its witness, albeit ambiguous and severely compromised, to the message of the Hebrew prophets.” De Gruchy (1995: 7) referred to the fundamental distinction between the democratic *system* and the democratic *vision*. By democratic system is meant those constitutional principles and procedure, symbols and convictions, which have developed over the centuries and which have become an essential part of any genuine democracy whatever its precise historical form. By democratic vision reference is made to that hope for a society in which all people are truly equal and yet where difference is respected; a society in which all people are truly free, yet where social responsibility rather than individual self-interest prevails; and a society which is truly just, and therefore one in which the vast gulf between rich and poor has been overcome. The democratic vision has its origins in the message of the ancient prophets of Israel and especially in the messianic hope for society in which the reign of God’s

Although Christianity has by no means always regarded democracy (the *system*) as the best form of government, the affinity is now widely acknowledged within the ecumenical church as Pope John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus* (1992) and the documents of the WCC indicate (cf. De Gruchy 1995: 9). Christianity now appears to be irrevocably committed to the retrieval of democracy as essential to its vision of a just world order. Also in South Africa, Church organisations have played their part in providing many people, not least those previously excluded from political participation in the government of the country, with expertise in democratic values and procedures at national regional and local levels. The Churches, like the MCSA, remain of key importance not only because of their prophetic role at a national level, but perhaps more importantly because of their potential to create participatory communities at the grass roots.

7.3.4.2 *Promoting and sustaining peace*

The Church has to learn to act publicly. We are being challenged to promote peace, to bring about peace and to keep the peace. In our contemporary setting destructive violence in the sense of senseless killing born out of greed, frustration, fear, hopelessness in poverty or insecurity, bitterness or revenge is rampant (cf. Smit 1993: 14). Old people, women and children are the soft targets. Organised crime is on the increase; taxi-violence and road-rage seem to be an everyday happening. Even up to now, the Churches have not been successful in stemming the waves of violence. Given the Church's record in the violent and divided past of South Africa, at least the Church has agreed on one issue and that is that it stands for non-violence. How can the Church devise tactics for joint public action to stem the tide of violence in cooperation with the police? How can the Church equip its members to promote peace in society? Surely 70% of the

shalom would become a reality. It is this vision, which has been the driving force behind the struggle for democratic transformation across the world, even if it cannot be fully realised and embodied in democratic systems of government.

inhabitants of this country must be able to make a difference if they are truly committed Christians.

7.3.4.3 *Working for justice*

The following issues have been gleaned from the discussion on theology (and the Church) in relation to the “third public” (cf. Chapter 2).

- (a) Political justice: (1) the hegemony of the democratic state and the building of a strong opposition vs. a one-party state; (2) human rights as the foundational building block of a democracy and Christian understanding from the perspective of the God-man; (3) the management of diversity and the protection of minority rights; (4) freedom of religion and the implication for religious instruction and theological faculties at universities.
- (b) Juridical justice: (1) judicature; (2) law and order (the role of magistrates in criminal cases, policing and corruption, escape of prisoners from jails; (3) state-security (legislation with regard to treason, viz. *Boeremag* guerrilla war).
- (c) Economical justice: (1) the RDP and structural adjustment program of IMF and the World Bank in relation to the World Trade Organisation; (2) the financial crisis and economic globalisation, the effect of unequal income distribution on economic growth rate, and insufficient competitiveness with the rest of the world⁶³² (production vs. strikes); (3) nationalisation vs. privatisation (the position of para-statels and COSATU); (4) employment (Approximately 15 million people; 28% of people aged 16 – 64 who are actively seeking work or are too discourage to continue looking) are unemployed in South Africa.; (5) land, redistribution and restitution (the Churches are the second greatest owners of land - cf. the Genadendal Accord between the Minister of Land Affairs and Agriculture and the Moravian Church in this regard in Ch. 6).

⁶³² Cf. Pieterse (2001:48-64) for a detailed discussion on the underlying factors that cause poverty.

- (d) Social justice: (1) family (sexual abuse such as rape, the spate of child rape, and being forced into prostitution, broken and unstable homes and alcohol abuse leading to child abuse, exposure to violence, child neglect (upkeep and education due to unemployment), single parenthood and promiscuity; (2) women's rights; (3) healthcare, medical aid, employment and HIV-AIDS contraction: Doctors not free to divulge that patients are HIV-positive, which increases the contraction of Aids; mother-to-child transmission (MTCT), the infected and affected⁶³³; (4) social welfare and the poor; (5) affirmative action; (6) protecting cultural diversity; (6) education.⁶³⁴

7.3.4.4 *Siding with (preferential option for) the poor*

From quantitative studies there appears to be consensus that between 40% and 50% of the South African population may be regarded as poor.⁶³⁵ For the Christian Church and those involved in the public arena these figures necessitate searching reflection on their task and calling in regard to the poor in this country and the Church's social task. This is the greatest challenge facing the Church and its ministry in our day and context (cf. Pieterse, 2001: 32). In conjunction with the needs of the poor, the Moravian Church sees its social task as follows:

⁶³³ The MCSA under the leadership of Rev R. Cochrane, has called in to being an AIDS program in 1996 called Masangane (Xhosa: We embrace one another) with the aim of:

- Preventing new HIV infections and enabling HIV-positive persons to prolong their lives for many years;
- Lessening the hardships of orphaned children and assisting their caregivers and family. This program is now an integral part of the Department of Development, Diaconic and Welfare Services of the MCSA since Nov. 2002.

⁶³⁴ Chikane in Smit (1993:16-17) is of the opinion that education will be the focus of church activities in the future in South Africa.

⁶³⁵ May & Govender (1998: 45) in Pieterse (2001:32). For an analysis of poverty in the South African context, read Pieterse 2001: 28 – 70. See also Wilson and Ramphele, 1989 *Uprooting Poverty*.

- (a) The Moravian church recognises that Christ came into the world to bear the sin and suffering of humankind and to conquer it. The MCSA wants to follow Jesus in the service of people. This service knows no bounds.
- (b) Caring for the poor and elderly, battle against sickness and hunger enjoy full attention as far as the means are available (C.O.M.C.S.A.).

The Moravian church is both a church of the poor and for the poor, but it is more a church of the poor, as it exists largely in poor communities; and therefore the “means” are normally not readily available. The MCSA despite the stark realities of poverty will have to remain Christ’s church in this context of poverty. It will have to offer inspiration and vision to the poor so as to empower them to improve their own situation and thus liberate themselves from poverty. It has to learn continuously with the poor what concrete solidarity with the poor entail, what implications it has for the everyday life and for Christian action *glocally* with regard to development aid, developed and developing countries!

7.3.4.5 Upholding the truth: the Church’s credibility and sincerity

The South African people after apartheid (with all its lies) are in need of the truth (cf. Smit, 1993: 18). People are disillusioned even with the Church. The erosion of certainty of the past confuses people. “Before 1994 people heard in church that everything is right. The White males that now lead the Church haven’t got strong words about the public arena after apartheid. They do not know how to handle things like crime and HIV/Aids.” (*Die Burger* 20 December 2002: 17). Thus, Smit’s words (1993: 19) still ring true: “They have been made to feel insecure and afraid. They need spiritual comfort, they need support – they need clarity and truth . . . with regard to the past, the present, and the future.” The Church will have to assist the nation in dealing truthfully with its past in renewing the past by confessing

the guilt about the past. The Church who is entrusted with the truth of God has to help the nation in dealing honestly with the realities of the present, politically, economically and socially (What is the state of the nation?).⁶³⁶ In order to move forward the nation needs a new kind of solidarity (the politicians speak of nation building). Smit (1993: 21) speaks of a dual implication of accepting our situation and accepting one another. As churches we need to set an example in accepting our neighbour, one

⁶³⁶ The SA government has requested the Church to assist in restoring the moral fibre of the nation. As we become an increasingly fragmented and polarised society, too many of our fellow citizens are being left behind, not participating in the benefits of the little economic growth that we experience and in the new South Africa. In addition, as our social morality deteriorates, life becomes harsher and less civil for everyone, social problems multiply, and we lose the confidence that we need to unite this nation. Our fellow citizens are especially alarmed and overwhelmingly agree about the problem of moral decline. We are deeply troubled by the character and values exhibited by young people today. Racism and sexism remain serious problems in our society. Yet in the last five to seven years, despite the violent, para-military attempts of the *Boeremag*, South Africans have displayed growing intolerance for segregation, bigotry, prejudice against minorities, or restricting opportunities for women in public life, thanks to our government that has played a leading role in nation-building and tolerance.

Weakening morality can be described as behaviour that threatens family cohesiveness. Teenage pregnancy, unwed childbearing, extramarital affairs, easy sex as a normal part of life – these are viewed by most South Africans (the population consists of 70% Christian who uphold chastity and the sanctity of marriage) as evidence of deteriorating morality. Strengthening the family should be the part of our society where an improvement would make the biggest difference.

Secondly, the weakening morality can be construed as behaviour that is increasingly uncivil – that is, behaviour that reflects a rejection of legitimate authority and a lack of respect of others, e.g. neighbours not being neighbourly; children disrespecting adults; declining loyalty between employers and employees; the absence of common courtesy; road-rage and taxi-menace in the streets – not observing traffic signs; disrespect for the sanctity of life – killing of old people, women and children because they are soft targets. Thirdly, the understanding that moral decline is the spread of behaviour that violates the norm of personal responsibility. Many public examples abound: The cutting of cheap deals knowing that the goods have been stolen; the abalone debacle and the arrogance of the poachers not respecting the law and law enforcement; a spectator tackling a referee during an international rugby match; Church Board members defiantly doing their own thing, ignoring the democratic process of joint decision-making and accountability (analyses based on *A Call to Civil Society* by the Institute for American Values).

another, the other, the stranger, those who are suffering, even the enemy, which will entail speaking out against racism and sexism.

Finally, the Church will have to help the nation to take responsibility for the future, which means sustaining God's creation, which we have not so much inherited from our ancestors but have borrowed from our children's future. Blacks will have to learn, after years of social conditioning of abdicating from political and civic responsibility, to take responsibility. Whites who currently withdraw from public affairs (maybe out of an attitude of spite or defiance or because they are just indifferent) will have to be equipped and persuaded to join in building the future of our country for the sake of our children. The question is how to translate the South African reality into the three publics of theology, viz. the academic, the Church and civil public for concrete Christian transformational action!⁶³⁷

7.3.5 Organising for public witness

The strategic question is: "How can the MCSA organise for effective public witness?" A proven manner of getting a congregation involved in public witness is by means of *justice ministries* in the public arena (Jacobsen 2001) calls it "Church Based Community Organising" (CBCO))⁶³⁸. In this section, guidelines will be devised to assist the Church in engaging justice ministries "from within and outside the sanctuary."

The ecclesiastical geography of the MCSA makes it clear that it is largely a church of the poor, with most of its congregations in the rural areas. The

⁶³⁷Cf. Bonhoeffer, 1942 in Smit 1993: 24.

⁶³⁸ The researcher at present is an executive member of CBCO Western Cape, which has been launched in 2001 at a public rally in Athlone, Cape Town. At the moment CBCO-Western Cape has a membership of 58 churches from different denominations. CBCO-WCP has identified 3 issues on which it has gone public, viz Organised crime, Shebeens and Drugs, Unemployment and poverty. (Cf. CS Dudley (1996) on the same issue of organising churches for community ministry (*Next Steps in Community Ministry*. New York: Alban Institute).

urban congregations are metropolitan due to the apartheid group areas act, which systematically disowned, uprooted and resettled people in townships according to ethnicity. Most of its members come from rural historically disadvantaged backgrounds. These congregations, according to congregational reports read⁶³⁹, are not unusually committed to existing justice ministries. It is therefore important to help them to rediscover their communities, identify needs, and launch justice ministries. How can they be empowered for organising, advocacy, and agitation; and to sustain the development of effective programs of justice ministries? In discussion with congregations, we learnt that basic factors, such as theology, size, social location, and cultural composition, have a significant influence on what ministries' congregations are prepared to embark on. However, these social conditions need not be barriers that prohibit congregations from developing justice ministries – if the leaders are committed and the resources can be found.⁶⁴⁰

Leaders and congregations are invited to combine three basic steps initially:

- (1) to study their civil society and specifically their communities,
 - (2) to acknowledge their congregational identity, and
 - (3) to develop an organisation to implement their decisions
- (Dudley, 1996: xii).

Clergy and laity would be comfortable with this simple yet comprehensive framework for programme development. Study of the social context is essential to provide the focus for ministry, while the congregational identity

⁶³⁹ Cf. Synodal reports of 1988 – 2001.

⁶⁴⁰ For the design of this model, extensive use has been made of Dudley's *Next Steps in Community Ministries* (1996) and Jacobsen's *Congregations and Community Organising* (2001). The principles and strategies of justice ministries have already been tested in a very basic manner in the Moravian congregation of Belhar where the author is a "tent-making" minister.

filtered the contextual information to enhance some civil issues and ignore others.

Before taking the MCSA and its congregations into the process of organising for justice ministries, it is of importance to get the Church to an orientation as to the foundational elements first of all.

7.3.5.1 Foundational elements of justice ministry

Congregation-based justice ministry is rooted in the local congregation. The local congregation is the building block of the organisation. Organising must be linked to the faith and values of the local congregation, to its self-interest, to its needs for leadership training, to the realities of its environment (immediate- and macro-). Organisers must be attentive to the particular ethos and character of the local congregation. The pastor must be drawn into the centre of the organising effort; otherwise, the congregation as a whole will likely remain on the periphery.

Jacobsen (2001:38-69) postulates the following foundational principals for justice ministries:

- (a) power
- (b) self-interest
- (c) one-on-ones
- (d) agitation

(a) Power:

Justice ministry is about power – building powerful congregations! The congregations of the MCSA need power to revitalise them, as was the case with our champions of the faith who traversed the globe to “win souls for the lamb.”

For too long in the apartheid era, Moravians have been stuck in a theology that is "privatistic" rather than communal, extraterrestrial rather than historical, spiritualised rather than incarnational. They would rather float a half-foot off the ground in cathartic, religious bliss than be grounded in the thorny struggle for justice. Their battle with the demonic is individualistic and tragic, defying St. Paul's admonition for the Church to engage the demonic in principalities and powers (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 42). This was (is?) the case because of a lack of power or the abuse of power, or the not sharing of power. This state of affairs is due to our brokenness and fallen nature. Juxtaposed to this, stands the biblical view of power that summons us to engage and to use power in ways that are creative, liberating, and life giving in the power of the Holy Spirit.

We need a relational power that comes from collective interaction and is genuinely democratic in process. We need an integrative power that seeks win-win victories. We need power that is rooted in love to lead us to justice. This will give the power to principled justice ministry (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 38 – 49).

The congregations need to be taught the strategic principles of power. We need to learn how to organise money and people in order to build an organisation powerful enough to achieve justice in the public arena. We need to learn how to do power analysis, how to conduct one-on-one interviews, how to cut issues, how to agitate. Nevertheless, we must not sacrifice the power of principles. We seek healing, shared power, shared wealth, non-violence, radical community. Our tactics must exert power in ways that will bring both physical and spiritual liberation. We need both: the principles of power and the power of principles (cf. Jacobsen, 2001: 38 - 49).

But we need to be cautioned: If we seek to exercise power in the public arena but do not take time for inner reflection, for prayer, for the healing of our souls, then our actions will be fuelled by our inner wilful carnality (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 38 – 49).

The communal journey is also critical. We cannot discover God's power alone. We need the community of believers but also the civil community to challenge us, to encourage us, to summon forth our gifts, to fire passion, to remind us of our calling. The communion (*koinonia*) nurtures our discovery of the purpose and meaning of our lives. The community agitates us in to make manifest the glory of God that is within us all as human beings. As "the small MCSA", we need the community as well because we are battling principalities and powers – wickedness in high places. On our own, we would be ineffectual, co-opted, or crushed. As a community, we experience a power that is greater than the sum of its parts. Within the community, we discover gifts, abilities, and power that we did not realise we had. As a community, we are emboldened and empowered to take stands and engage in struggles that we would not conceive of doing on our own (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 38 – 49).

The community of believers draws its power from God and trusts the power of God to lead to victory. Faith in the power of Christ's resurrection prevents the community from yielding to defeat of spirit or cynicism because it knows that, eschatologically, evil will be totally vanquished by God (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 38 – 49).

The faithful community experiences power rooted in love and resulting in justice. To be part of such a community is an honour and a powerful blessing (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 38 – 49).

(b) Justice ministry is about self-interest

Church people, trained in the art of destructive self-denial, tend to identify self-interest with selfishness and thus see self-interest negatively as implying self-centeredness, egotistical behaviour, narcissism, and disregard for others. In justice ministry self-interest is viewed differently.

It is seen as a relational concept to be distinguished from the non-relational concepts of selfishness and selflessness (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 50 – 58). In justice ministry self-interest is viewed as the only true way of relating to another person because self-interest respects the two sides of the relationship. Selfishness denies the “other” in the relationship, whilst selflessness denies the “self” in the relationship. Self-interest honours both the “self” and the “other” in the relationship (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 50 – 58). In justice ministry to know yourself-interest, to declare your self-interest, and to act on your self-interest is an act of political courage. For people such as the historically disadvantaged in the South African context who have been in denial of their self-interest for so long due to religious conditioning and political oppression, to learn their self-interest requires considerable reorientation, introspection, dialogue, and agitation. Self-interest is a key concept for justice ministry (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 52). Yet it could be a troubling concept for Christians who feel that self-interest is antithetical to self-denial mandated by their Lord Jesus in the summons to cross bearing in Luke 9: 23. If we however go beneath the surface, we see that the three Synoptic Gospels (Matt.16: 24; Mark 8: 34; Luke 9: 23) place the primary saying of Jesus about self-denial in the context of the first prediction of Jesus’ own suffering and death. Therefore, Christian self-denial is to be understood as participation in the cross of Christ, the vehicle of our salvation and liberation. To deny the self in this context is to deny the false self that is afraid of life, afraid of death, afraid of any risks for one’s values and beliefs. To deny the self is to deny the individualistic and privatistic impulses within us that block us from engaging community. Jesus also summons us to love our neighbour as we love ourselves (Matt. 19: 19, as in Lev.19: 18). Self-love is implied, assumed, and affirmed. The

self-denial to which Jesus calls us is the highest expression of self-love because the self-denial of the cross leads to the deepest experience of life and to the fullest imaginable self-fulfilment. Such self-denial leads to self-discovery rooted in relationship with others and with God. It is the highest form of self-interest (cf. Jacobsen 50 – 58).

“Interest” comes from two Latin words: *inter* and *esse*, which literally translate “to be amongst” (Cf. Jacobsen 2001: 53). Authentic self-interest has to do with the self that is to be among others. The authentic self is discovered in the life that is lived among others, in community, in the public arena. Organising draws people into community based upon common self-interest. Perhaps we work together to seek HIV/Aids treatment funding, or to improve public education, or to secure more jobs. Organising needs to connect with these kinds of short-term self-interest if it hopes to get people involved for whom these issues are real concerns. However, organising also needs to address long-term self-interest: our values, our faith, our needs for relationships, our longing for community, and our thirst for justice (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 54).

In the long run, organising is all about weaving together a liberative community in which people can live out their values, be connected to a network of significant relationships, and be agitated to summon forth their God-given power and potential.

Congregation-based justice ministry organising encourages the process of self-becoming. It does so by honouring the *imago Dei* present in each person and respecting the precious diversity of self-interest. Who am I? Who will I become? Congregation-based justice ministry organising is a process that creates a community of people who share common self-interests and who are deepened in their self-discovery through liberation struggles.

(c) Justice ministries is about One-on-ones

The one-on-one interview is the primary tool of organising (Jacobsen 2001: 59). A good organiser continually does one-on-ones and trains leaders to do the same. The one-on-one interview is the building block of an organisation (Jacobsen 2001: 59). The one-on-ones are rooted in the conversations of Jesus. The conversations of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospels, are never casual. He confronts, challenges, invites and admonishes. In all conversations with Jesus a deepening occurs. Relationship is sought, but it is always rooted in truth. Those who cannot handle the truth walk away from him (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 61).

In the initial stages of developing a congregation-based justice ministry volunteers are trained to conduct numerous one-on-ones in their churches and neighbourhoods. This essential process is repeated every few years in the life of an organisation as a means of creating and deepening relationships, staying connected to the self-interests of the grassroots, and expanding the power base of the organisation. While shaping an issue and preparing for an action, members of task forces conduct one-on-ones with those who have knowledge and influence relative to that issue.

A successful one-on-one interview, in the space of about a half-hour, initiates or deepens a relationship, uncovers the other person's self-interest, allows the other person to gain clarity about what motivates him or her, and acquires essential knowledge about the person. Organising is essentially a relational process. At its best organising is rooted in unconditional love for the other persons, which seeks relationships that move toward empowerment, community, and justice.⁶⁴¹ In the one-on-ones, we are not so much searching for information about a person as we are looking for the

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Martin Buber's "I-Thou relationship", in: Jacobsen, 2001: 63.

person.⁶⁴² Jacobsen (2001: 60) warns, “Organising misses it’s calling when it becomes a swirl of frenetic activity, addicted to issues and actions, running past and over human beings.” The one-on-ones restore focus and serve as a reminder of the human dimension of organising.

(d) Justice ministry is about agitation

Agitation is a means of getting others to act out of their own power and self-interest, out of their own vision for their life. Agitation is not a way of getting someone to do what I want him or her to do. It is to get the other person to discern her self-interest, her vision for life and then to act based on such discernment (Jacobsen 2001:65 – 69).

Relationship is a prerequisite of agitation. I have no right to agitate people I do not know. If I do not know what potentiality they have, I am in no position to agitate them to live out their vision for their lives. An agitator in organising justice ministries is trying to create community, build an organisation, to raise leaders. An agitator in this respect is relationally connected to the one being agitated (CF. Jacobsen 2001: 66).

Most churches do not operate based on healthy agitation that is rooted in relationship and that summons forth the best from their people. They operate instead based on manipulation, authoritarianism, or guilt-tripping (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 66).

In contrast, we note the interaction between Jesus and Simon Peter in John 21. If Simon Peter loves Jesus, as he so adamantly claims, then his potentiality must be summoned forth. As long as Simon is crippled by his fear and by his remorse, he is immobilised and useless as a leader. By summoning forth Simon’s declaration of love for Jesus and by entrusting

⁶⁴² Teilhard de Chardin, in: Jacobsen (2001: 63) said: “God only enters when you reach for the other.” Zinzendorf said: “We know of no Christianity with out fellowship (community).”

Simon with the feeding and tending of Jesus' Church, Jesus heals Simon. He restores Simon to his vision of himself, one who is like a rock in his love for Jesus and in his willingness to serve, to lead, and to lay down his life for his Lord. At its best, agitation touches on the matter of vocation. The existential question is what is the purpose of my life? What is God's plan for me? Agitation claims that more is yet to come to my life, to my potential, and to my divine call within a call. Agitation confronts, urges, probes, explores the question of vocation. Agitation does not leave people hanging. It honours the valuable gifts that they bring. It summons them to release those gifts in service of their vision for their lives. In addition, it connects them to a community, such as a church or congregation-based justice ministries, where their gifts can be actualised and their leadership developed (cf. Jacobsen 2001: 69).

Agitation is impolite. It is direct and confrontational, and it creates tension. Agitation is a difficult skill to be learned by people who have been brought up to think that niceness is the *sine qua non* of saintliness. It is also a difficult skill that those who enjoy running over other people must learn. A balancing act is required here.

Agitation, finally also seeks to summon forth life. It cannot do so without struggle, tension, and risk. It may be painful for both the agitator and the person being agitated, but pain is the worthwhile cost of giving birth to new life.

In summary then, congregation-based justice ministry organises the transformation of a person, a congregation and a church, which is a slow and deliberative process that involves agitation, training, action, reflection, and connection to community. In any event, it connects an individual to a congregation, or a congregation to other churches, faith-based or community-based organisations and or non-government organisations.

Congregation-based justice ministry at its best seeks the true reality in which the light of God shines through the darkness of injustice and human evil. It seeks to bring to light the potential of human beings to live as the children of God in just relationships. It seeks to end the night of human misery. It seeks the light of the kingdom of God. It seeks this light in individuals, in community and in society.

7.3.5.2 *The Role of clergy in mobilising justice ministries.*

Ministers in the MCSA have many specific roles and duties but in this section we want to examine what clergy bring to organising for ministries of justice for people who are oppressed and compassion for people in need. It is my contention and experience that although the ministry in general makes many demands on clergy, justice ministries will really revitalise the congregations for their basic calling as the *laos theou* (the laity as the people of God) for the priesthood of all believers.

Justice ministry has a premise and a bias: Project and programme guidelines require that lay leaders, not clergy, chair the organising committees. This emphasis on lay leadership allows the emerging ministries to be owned by the congregants (and their partners) and to be less limited to the minister's agenda. This will free the pastors to develop their specific leadership styles and (often unconscious) leadership patterns (cf. Dudley, 1996: 10). As leadership in justice ministry organising is a group activity, the minister is regarded as a team player. Leadership is always complementary, which means that in justice ministries pastors and people bring together a reservoir of wisdom and skills based on experience and personal commitment. In this way, they mesh their strength and compensate for their weaknesses in working towards a common end within the culture of the congregation.

The empirical research done within this field by Dudley (1996: 12) helps to identify five supportive roles the clergy can play in justice ministries:

(a) Theologians, who help members know the faith rationale for the ministry

The pastors will be trained to help clarify to the congregation why the congregation is engaged in this justice ministry and how it fits within the congregation's Christian identity. The pastors will be trained to recognise their roles as visionaries that raise the ideals and/or theological coaches who help group members say it for themselves.

(b) Vested authority, who gives focus and direction to group decisions

Ministers will be trained to perform their function according to the authority the congregations/church have invested them with. Two kinds of vested authority have been identified, viz. transformational pastors and traditional pastors. Transformational pastors are vested with the authority to bring about significant change, and traditional pastors are again entrusted to bring about stability and steadiness by sustaining the existing faith and rhythm of congregational life.

(c) Participant minister, who leads by becoming directly involved in the ministry

Pastors will be helped to realise that in working directly with their projects they might approach the task in two ways, viz. as delegating pastors and/or as servant pastors. In justice ministry pastors are more likely to be seen as servants than as delegators but the projects are twice as likely to be successful if the pastor is effective in delegating the work to others.

(d) Problem solver, who helps process decisions in the group and individually

Ministers can approach the projects in two different ways, either as consultants or as counsellors. Consultants help the group to achieve its goals while counsellors focus primarily on the healthy functioning of individual group members.

(e) Personal link that provides connections within and beyond this ministry

This function could also be performed in two ways, viz as a bridge between the congregation and society, and as the bond within the core decision-making group. As a bridge, pastors can represent the project to the community as its voice and primary interpreter. From the pulpit and prayers to public meetings/demonstrations, press statements, fundraising, looking for new volunteers, and exploring new possibilities for programme development. From within their situatedness in a project, pastors can become the bond that holds the participants together in good and in hard times. Pastors' greatest role in justice ministry could be their sustaining presence.

Guidelines to enhance the pastoral styles and increase their effectiveness in justice ministry:

- Ministers should know their own gifts and limitations;
- Ministers should negotiate leadership styles in cultural context;
- Pastoral leadership should match project development;
- Pastoral leadership can be barriers to ministry;
- Pastoral leaders should be clear and consistent in justice ministry.

(These guidelines will be work shopped with ministers in districts or other ministerial groupings.)

7.3.5.3 Congregational identity in organising for justice ministry

Churches develop social ministries in ways that are consistent with the role they play in the community and society, that is, the way they define their self-image in the history of justice ministry or public witness. In other words, congregations have to discover their own story.

Dudley (1996: 48 - 50) has identified five patterned self-images by which congregations develop their program, recruit members, raise funds, make decisions and have, for our purposes here, developed justice ministries. By

applying these identities to the MCSA we intend to influence the congregations' abilities (their strength and weaknesses) to combine their ministry with public witnessing/justice ministry. The five images are the following:

Pillar Churches as the name indicates are established community institutions that share a general responsibility for the good and welfare of their community or area.

Prophetic churches, when they see evil, take a proactive stance to transform the condition. These churches are committed to social justice by solidifying their support from newspaper coverage about the congregations' involvement in the public arena, such as their public letters and protest marches against identified issues. For these congregations confrontational ministry seems natural.

Pilgrim Churches are more involved in local community issues like in our mission station settings. They know the intense but focused boundaries of their social ministries. Such congregations are so immersed in the lives of the mission settlements that they naturally demand justice in issues that affect their own people.

Survivor churches have a lifestyle of weathering crisis, and although constantly on the verge of disaster, they will endure. Such congregations will tackle the social ministry head-on, the same way that they treat other challenges. In a survivor situation, you can find barely enough resources to tackle just one more crisis. However, they can keep on in that way for years. In a sense, most of our congregations are in this position, which makes it a great challenge that it has been proven that such congregations have the stamina to even tackle issues in the public arena.

Servant churches seek to live their faith in quiet service to help particular individuals in their times of spiritual and physical need. When your servant congregation becomes frustrated in the face of injustice and enraged at abusive systems, it can move mountains.

In order to develop justice ministries, congregations will have to (1) study their society, (2) celebrate their congregational identity, and (3) develop a supportive organisation to implement their decisions. These three elements are independent. Once congregations start organising to develop a justice ministry, they will find the confidence that will enable them to recognise the issues in the public arena. Congregations will discover that you can rarely organise community ministries simply in response to obvious problems. Like others, the congregation is inflicted with “familiarity blindness” that permits passivity, ignorance, or repression of awareness. Such a condition will not heal until you get a small and committed group that believe that they can make a difference.

Once organised, the congregations will discover that they have unconsciously “known” about community (public) problems, yet been unable to admit it until they are organised for justice ministry. With these new insights, they can become more personally acquainted with the public issues. With that sensitivity, they can reorganise their priorities to find time and energy for sustained ministry. Based on Dudley (1996: 46), three ways are suggested in which they can combine justice ministries and it is hoped that congregations may find one or more of these patterns in congregational strategies that will be appropriate for their specific situations:

1. Extension of ministry: Every congregation can engage in a ministry of justice when it builds on the strengths of its ordinary, ongoing ministry. Every congregation can do it when members reach out in ministry in the way they live within the congregation. Congregations have ample resources

for new ministries when they are built on existing congregational strengths (compare the congregational identities above).

2. Modelling ministry: Many congregations can begin new ministries when they see them modelled by others, and many existing ministries can change their societies by modelling alternative procedures that are adopted by established social agencies. Unless you are a prophetic congregation, your members will be more inclined to service than to justice ministries. In most churches, members are more interested in helping individuals than changing systems. Congregations gain courage in trying social ministry when they see it modelled in the Bible, and they discover examples among other congregations of their area or in their district. That is why it is of strategic importance for the MCSA congregations seriously to consider joining Church Based Community Organizations (CBCO's), seeing that the Church has shown its commitment to justice ministries.
3. Confrontational ministry: At the right moment with careful preparation, confrontational challenges can change the oppressive programs, policies, and personnel of existing public social conditions. Traditionally, members of the MCSA became theologically outspoken in their resistance to confronting oppressive powers and principalities. They invoked the "wall of separation" between Church and State, affirmed the distinction between the sacred and the secular, and felt more comfortable with spiritual concerns in church. For all those reasons, the advocacy for justice seemed just not proper for the majority of typical congregations. Yet, over the years since the political transition, congregations have gradually shifted to a more positive disposition to confrontational ministry, although it is not actually practiced. It is therefore important for the MCSA congregations to know that one can find advocacy for justice (confrontational ministry) as part of almost every sensitive diaconal (service) ministry, natural partners in more extensive congregational programs of community concern and membership support. Even in the midst of a justice campaign, advocacy is sustained by networks of mutual support and spiritual sensitivity.

7.3.5.4 *Guidelines for developing effective public witness: the Advocacy role*⁶⁴³

This section looks at why congregations shy away from public witness, the paths congregations take to public witness and how one can help a congregation move towards advocacy. By advocacy ministries, we mean ministries that seek systemic solutions to problems, not only individual solutions. Advocacy is using power plus love to seek justice in society.

Before we consider possible ways to advocacy, let us first consider why congregations shy away from advocacy. Firstly, when congregations consider engaging the public arena, they think in terms of serving groups of people rather than issues or problem areas. Dudley (1996: 56) has found that when a congregation focuses on the person rather than on the issue, it frequently ignores the societal problems that are affecting the persons it seek to serve, at least initially. The groups of people they select for help are usually known members of the congregation or people in the immediate area. The concern for this ministry arises out of their love for people, but it is usually limited to approaches that “serve” these particular people. These social services may be the most direct and immediate way to address the problems. However, advocacy approaches are likely to affect more people for a longer time.

Secondly, some congregations are out of touch with the community. In developing their outreach ministry, some congregations will talk to their members, read and study “the issues”, and then develop their advocacy ministry without ever consulting the people they seek to serve. Without building genuine partnership with the target group, it may be paternalistic;

⁶⁴³ Advocacy appears to be more and more the concept employed for public witness in literature of this nature (Cf. Dudley and Jacobsen). Therefore, “advocacy” will be used in this section to indicate public witness.

even more, it may not address the issues that are influencing the lives of the people the congregation wishes to reach.

Thirdly, congregations shy away from advocacy ministries because they do not really believe that they can make a difference – especially to big problems, such as unemployment and poverty. Churches often feel that it is much easier to work on charitable solutions, than to deal with system change. Charitable ministries enable church members to feel good about themselves because they believe they are helping keep “somebody” nourished, clothed, and housed even if it’s just for one day.

A fourth reason congregations shy away from advocacy is that they are uncomfortable discussing and using power. Church members do not want to get involved in public issues, saying, “Politics is not the role of the Church or the Church-based ministry.”

A final reason congregations shy away from advocacy is a lack of recognised authority to act by the pastors and biblical ignorance about God’s desire for justice. If church members know only how God’s Word speaks to our individual lives, they will think in terms of ministries to individuals. However, when they know how God cares for communities and society, they may lean more toward ministries that advocate changing systems of oppression and exploitation.

On the other hand, it needs to be stated that the most likely way congregations, which are not initially receptive to advocacy, are to be moved to advocacy is from the direct experience with people in need. With effective training congregations can be guided to move from acts of charity to exercise acts of justice.

Based on the reasons for congregations shying away from advocacy (justice ministry) and others choosing to engage the public arena, the following guidelines⁶⁴⁴ are suggested for the MCSA to help congregations develop prophetic commitment to advocate essential systemic change.

1. **Seek to involve people directly affected by problems in design and implementation of justice ministries.** To establish justice ministries in the congregations an organiser is invited to meet with interested leaders. After initial presentation about the basic principles and methodology of organising are covered a core team in loco is established. The core team is trained to do one-on-one interviews within their congregational community. The organising committee must truly seek to discern the possible societal issues that the congregation can work on in developing its advocacy ministry. Identifying issues that affect the life of the community must take place in the context of working directly with the affected group or local community.

2. **Design an extensive listening and discernment process to ensure that community problems are truly heard and understood.** This is where the one-on-ones come in. The organising committee should be trained (weeklong training) in the techniques of one-on-ones, which will enable them to train the congregants in turn to discern the problems that affect the

⁶⁴⁴ The information used is attributed to Dudley, 1966:59 – 63; compare Fowler's suggestions (1988: 155 – 162) on public church, which largely correspond with this discussion:

1) Public church fosters a clear sense of Christian identity and commitment; (2) Congregations of Public church manifest a diversity of membership; (3) Public church consciously prepares and supports members for vocation and witness in a pluralistic society; (4) Public church balances nurture-and-group-solidarity within with forming-and-accountability-in-vocation-in-work-and-public-life beyond the walls of the Church; (5) Public church evolves a pattern of authority and governance that keep pastorals and lay leadership initiatives in a fruitful balance; (6) Public church offers its witness in publicly visible and publicly intelligible ways; (7) Public church shapes a pattern of *paideia* (Christian education; own insertion) for children, youth, and adults that works toward the combining of Christian commitment with vocation in "public."

larger community. By door-to-door visits, they interface directly with members of the community. The purpose of the visits is for the congregational members to meet their neighbours, get to know them by name and listen to their dreams and concerns for their families and their community. The visit is the means by which the congregation begins to develop a relationship and potential partnership with its neighbours and community. In the process of issue identification, a few beacons/benchmarks are important: Period for visitation schedule, group sharing, feedback to people, invitation to partake in small group discussions, begin the process of identifying, clarifying, and prioritising the significant problems impacting the community for the Church and the community to work on together. After this follows the selection of advocacy issues and developing effective strategies. The point is to identify issues that address the self-interest of those who are part of the organising effort and who will be asked to pay the cost of victory with their money, time, and action. Initially three or four issues are selected and task forces are formed to do research, power analysis, the shaping of a winnable issue, and proposed action. A public meeting is then organised to celebrate the formation of an organisation and to publicly announce its initial issues campaign.

Facilitators will be trained (weeklong training) to become skilled in community building, power analysis, issue selection, and strategy development to help congregation-groups not only to think and ask the right questions, but also to gain the insights and skills to develop an effective advocacy ministry.

3. Build in opportunities to help congregations reflect on their ministries.

The more congregations get in touch with community problems through getting to know people and their environment, the more they will get involved in advocacy. In order for them to remain focussed, it is important to build in the opportunity to reflect on ministries and directions.

Organising groups and volunteers of different churches and communities should regularly come together to reflect on directions of the programme and what else could be done. The Church-based Community Organisation (CBCO) provides such a forum to meet regularly as core-groups within the sphere of different issues groups, called the taskforce who does the agitation for systemic change. The local congregations organise themselves in core-groups of 10 – 20 people that represent the congregations in turn in the issue groups, which are interdenominational and regional. On this level, the congregations work together in partnership to define and analyse the issues that affect the community and develop a short-and long-term strategy to cause system change on the issues it is determined effectively to address. The analysis and strategy development look at several questions: What are the risks? Who are our foes and potential partners? How will this strategy build up our resource base and power? What systems are we trying to change? How will this process empower the community? How will this improve the community in the long term?

4. Challenge Christians to understand and use their power.

MCSA congregations are not used to speaking about power as their collective capacity to bring about systemic change in society. Thinking and talking about power and how to use it with love helps Christians increase their impact in society. The best way to have these discussions is in the context of prayer and biblical reflection.

Congregations that want to develop an advocacy ministry must begin with the fundamental belief that advocacy ministry is essential and integral to the life and mission of the Church. Using power with love must be preached from the pulpit, taught in confirmation class, studied in Bible study, work shopped in Christian education in ministers' gatherings, women's, men's and youth associations, and discussed at church meetings. The members of the organising committee need to begin this process by educating their

fellow congregants and the key leaders about the role of advocacy ministry in the life of the Church (e.g. Bible studies, sermons, announcements, adult forums, retreats). Without the public support of the key pastoral and congregational leaders, any effort to develop an advocacy ministry will not be sustained in the end.

5. Develop a long-term vision on a spiritual foundation

An effective advocacy ministry requires enduring leadership. Unjust systems cannot be changed overnight. The struggle to bring about divine justice and righteousness is about not only developing a short-term or long-term process strategy or program, or a management of ministry issues. Undertaking an authentic advocacy ministry is a faith commitment. Advocacy ministry is part of our life and vocation. Development of an effective advocacy ministry requires vision and commitment to the building up of the Kingdom. An advocacy ministry is a lifetime walk with God (Dudley, 1996: 63).

7.4 Conclusion

There is no simple shortcut formula for developing an effective congregation-based public (advocacy) ministry. It requires the congregation to be bold in its vision, committed to its mission, willing to give significant time, energy, and resources, to be a risk taker, and to **work in partnership** with its larger community (macro environment). Most of all it requires faith in the knowledge that God's righteousness and justice will prevail. The most practical advice is spiritual – to live the belief that justice is central to our calling as Christ's witness in the world – even in the public arena.

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ADDENDUM A: The Brotherly Agreement

Regulations of the Congregation at the mission stations

*(Drawn up and agreed to by all the inhabitants in 1816 and in an adjusted form
thereafter)*

1. The Regulations of a Congregation of the Brethren are not to be considered as laws, prescribed by Superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a Settlement of the Brethren.— The object of the Brethrens' living together in separate settlements is, that they may as much as possible be out of the way of temptations, and that by the preaching of the word of God connected with a wholesome Church discipline a living knowledge of Jesus Christ, and a godly life may be promoted among the inhabitants. Hence all the regulations of a Congregation must tend to further this object and to prevent whatever is contrary to the same.
2. If a Congregation shall subsist according to the regulations, voluntarily adopted by its members, it is necessary that persons be appointed, whose duty it is, to watch over the due observance of these regulations. This office is in Genadendal entrusted to the Teachers and Missionaries, whose admonitions and decisions every one is bound to obey, as long as they are agreeable to the word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation.
3. We wish to conduct ourselves as faithful and obedient subjects under the existing Government, and willingly to submit to the laws of the country, in as far as we are not exempt by privileges lawfully obtained. — We consider it as our duty not only to love and honour the persons in power placed over us, but also to endeavour to promote the welfare of the country, where our lot is cast. — We likewise are willing to honour and obey the Overseers, who with the approbation of Government are appointed to watch over order and regularity here at Genadendal.

4. Every Inhabitant of this place is bound, according to the precept and example of Jesus and his disciples, to be kind and friendly towards all men without regard to nation or other circumstances. — We also wish to avoid all disputes about religious matters with people of other communities, in order that the brotherly love and harmony, which ought to characterise the followers of Christ, may not be disturbed. Disputes and quarrels amongst ourselves must also, as much as possible, be avoided.

5. We consider it as a matter of the highest importance, that the strictest morality be attended to, in the intercourse of children and young persons of both sexes. Parents and Guardians must be particular in regulating domestic affairs in such a manner, that as much as possible every opportunity of forming improper connexions may be avoided. No inhabitant is permitted to keep children of other parents in his house overnight without the knowledge and leave of the parents.

6. We consider drunkenness as a great sin, which is frequently the occasion of exciting the worst passion; and no less do we abhor the smoking of *Dacha*.

Swearing and cursing is an abomination in the sight of God and his word says, that He wilt not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain, Exod. 20: 7, it is also written, that neither adulterers, nor thieves nor drunkards shall inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. 6: 9-10. Hence it is our desire, not only to avoid all these works of darkness, but never to suffer them in our children, and on all occasions use our best endeavours, to extirpate all these and other wicked habits amongst us.

7. No one is permitted to bring spirituous liquors from other places to Genadendal, and all plays of a mischievous and immoral tendency are prohibited.

8. The Sabbath or Sunday is ordained by God to be a day of rest. Hence it is our duty, to keep it holy, to improve every opportunity afforded us, to appear before him in fellowship for edification, and to avoid everything, whereby this holy day must be abandoned. Let rather every one in retirement meditate on the word of God and the useful instructions, which he has heard in Church and School.— Children and young

people must conduct themselves quietly and with proper decorum in going in or out of the Church, lest the congregation be disturbed and offended by their lightmindedness.

9. In the evenings after the public meetings every one must remain in his house and not go about visiting in other dwellings, unless compelled by necessity.

10. Whoever receive a stranger in his house to stop overnight, must give notice of it to the Missionary, who is appointed to examine the passports of such stranger, and be answerable for the good conduct of the visitor.

11. When any one has obtained leave to reside in Genadendal, and is desirous to build a house and have some land for a garden, he must address himself to the Missionary, who has the inspection over buildings and gardens, and be willing to follow his advice. In the same manner previous notice must be given, before one is allowed to enlarge his house.

12. All the inhabitants of this place must be attentive to cleanliness in their persons, houses and the environs thereof, and take care, that the ditches, watercourses and paths adjoining their houses and gardens be kept open and clean.

13. If any one damages his neighbour's houses, hedges, trees or what he has sown and planted or such damage is done by his children or cattle, he must remunerate the sufferer according to a fair valuation; and if any one commits thefts or other crimes, he must be delivered over to the Magistracy.

14. If a dispute arises between inhabitants of this place, it is their duty in the first instance, to appeal to the Missionaries, in order that by their good advice and admonition such dispute may be settled and love, peace and harmony restored.

15. In case there should be persons found amongst us, who disregard all good advice and admonitions, and repeatedly render themselves guilty of the above mentioned sins and improprieties, they shall no more be allowed to live amongst us. If they possess house, garden and ploughland, they are at liberty to sell the house, and the fruit found on the land and in the garden to other inhabitants of the place, of which however due notice must be given to the Missionaries. — After having settled their affairs, they are not allowed to remain in Genadendal beyond a certain time fixed by the Missionaries, and no Inhabitant is allowed to shelter them in his house.

16. In case the inhabitants of this place remove from hence, and stay away beyond a year without giving any notice of it, and without giving their huts and gardens in trust to someone else, if they remain absent for two years, their huts or houses may be disposed of and the amount reserved for them, and if they have no heirs here, and nothing is heard of them within five years, the money falls to the poor-box.

17. In the same manner do all those, who though they remain on the spot, make no use of their land and garden, forfeit their right thereto, and must expect, that they will be given to another.

18. Before any one obtains leave, to reside in Genadendal he promises in the presence of all the Missionaries, to conduct himself according to these Regulations and in all things to follow the precepts of Jesus and his Apostles. Hence it is expected of every Inhabitant of the place, duly to observe these regulations, which have no other object, than to promote the welfare of the whole community and of every Individual.

May God — who is not the author of confusion but of peace — add his blessing!

ADDENDUM B: Structures and Organogram .

(All diagrams based on design by E Bucholt, I Schiewe & A Joemath)

Structure of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa (1956-1975)

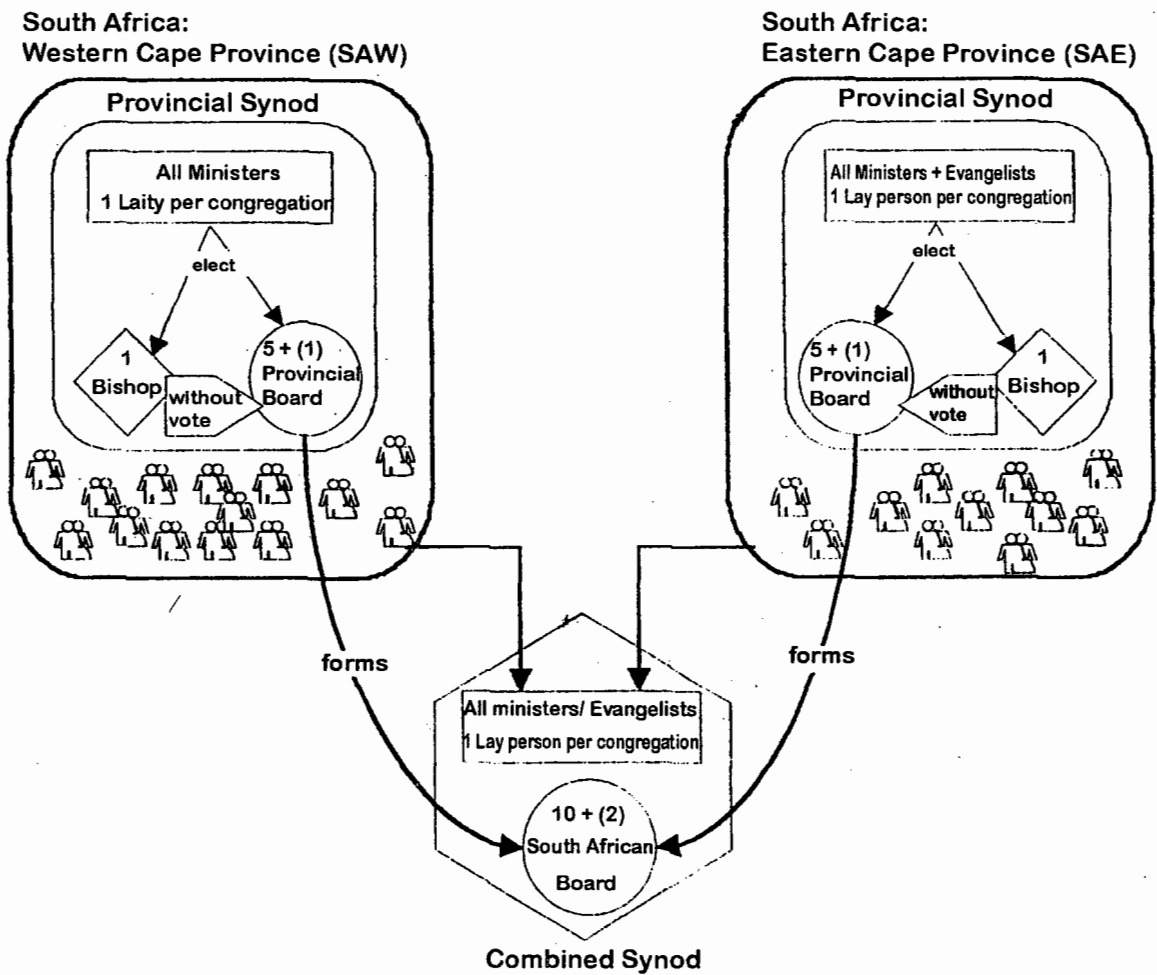


DIAGRAM 1

Church jurisdiction of the Moravian Church
(1975-1992)

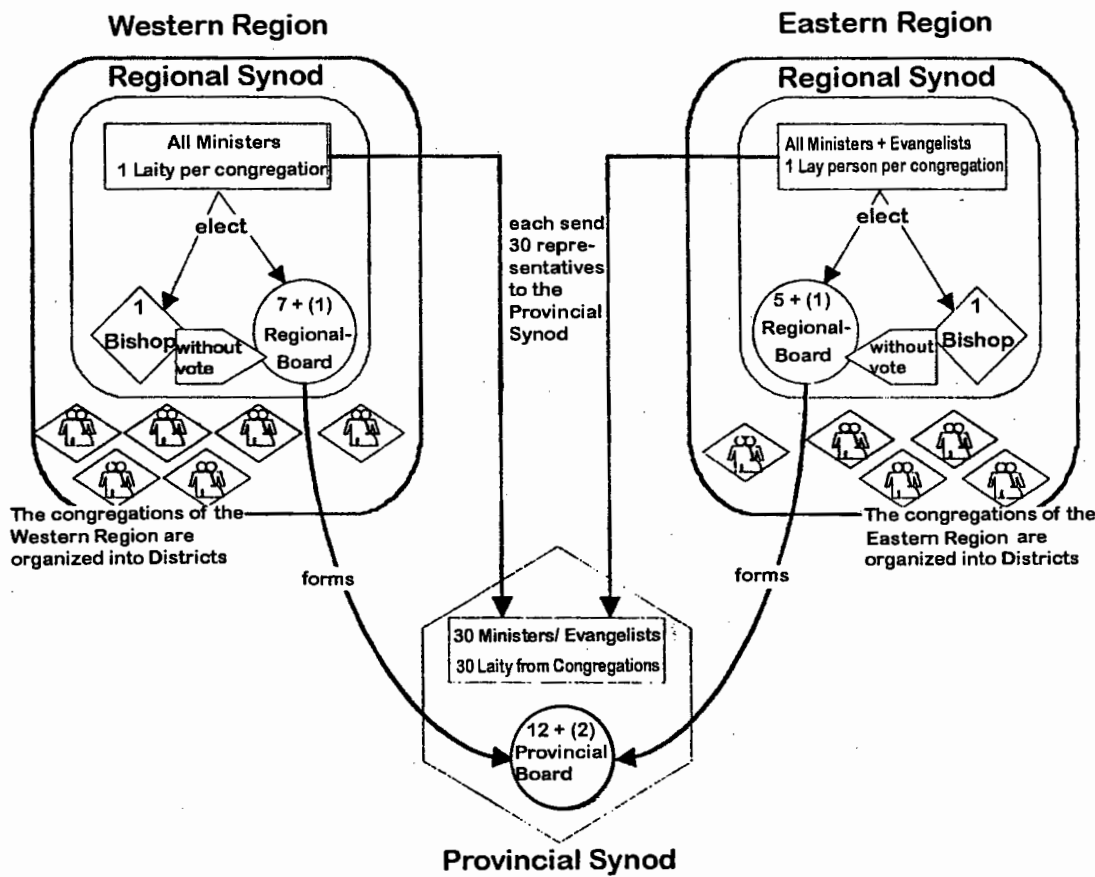


DIAGRAM 2

Church governing structures of the Uniting MCSA (1992-1998)

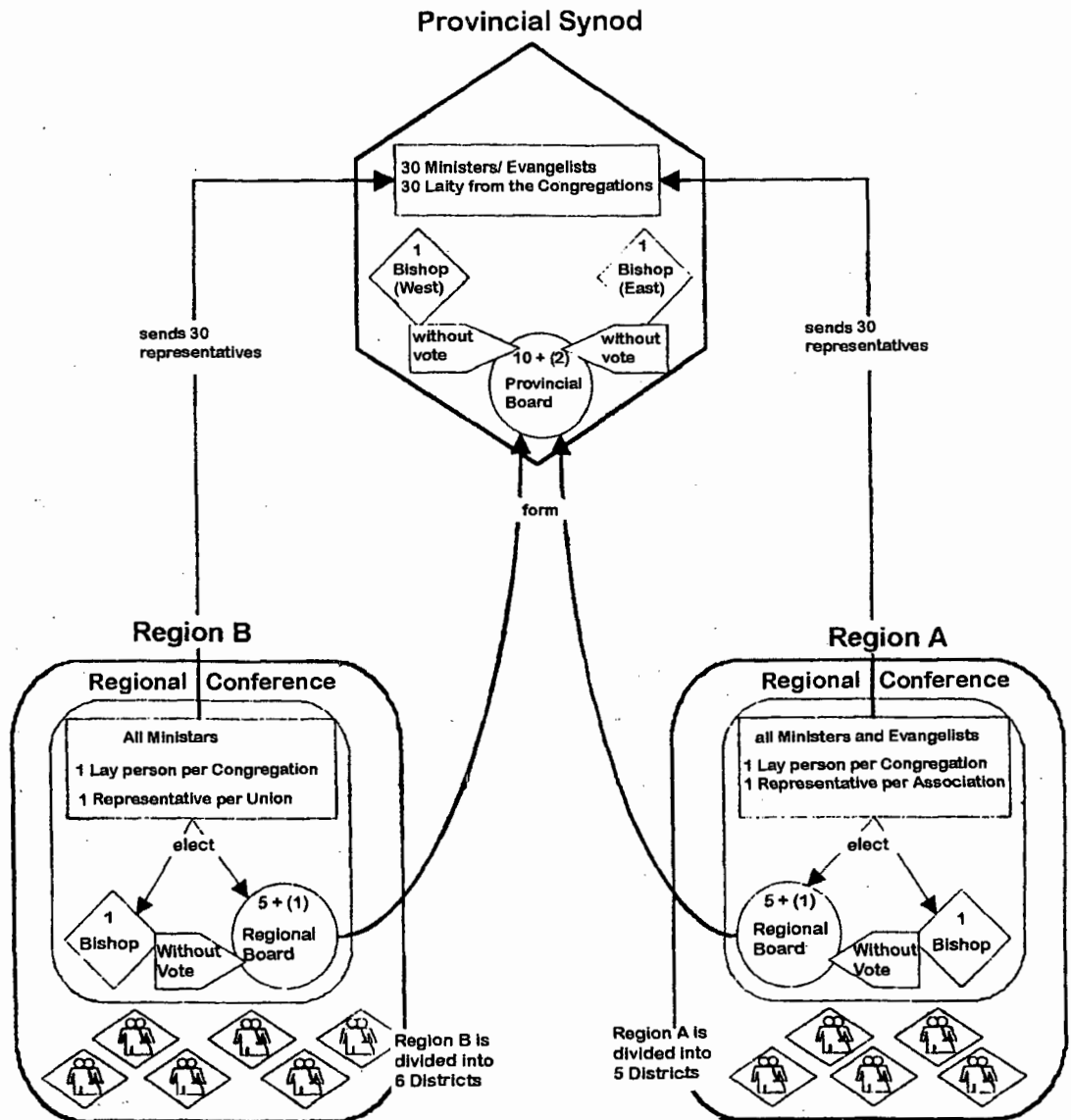


DIAGRAM 3

Church governing structures of the United MCSA (since 1998)

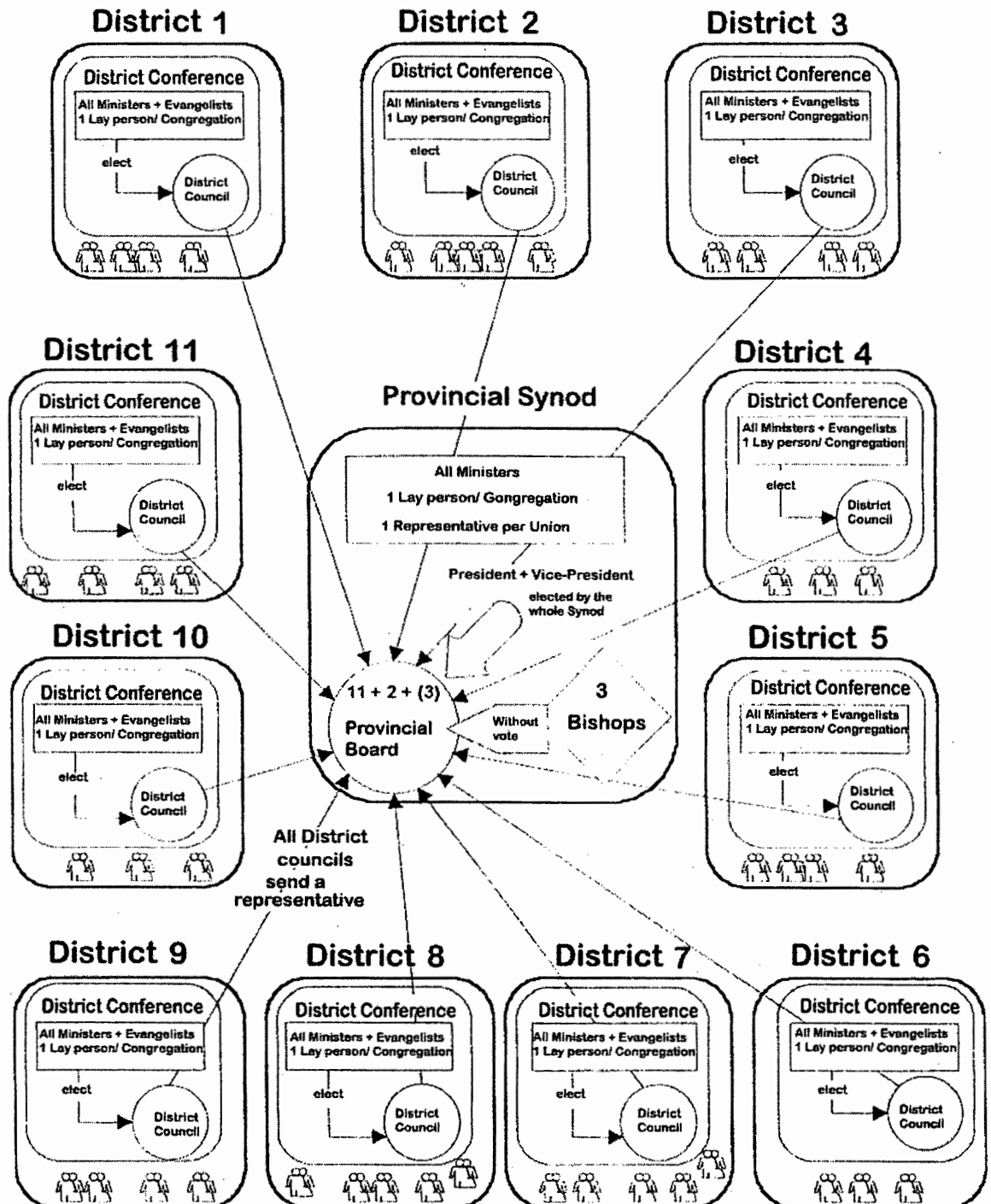


DIAGRAM 4

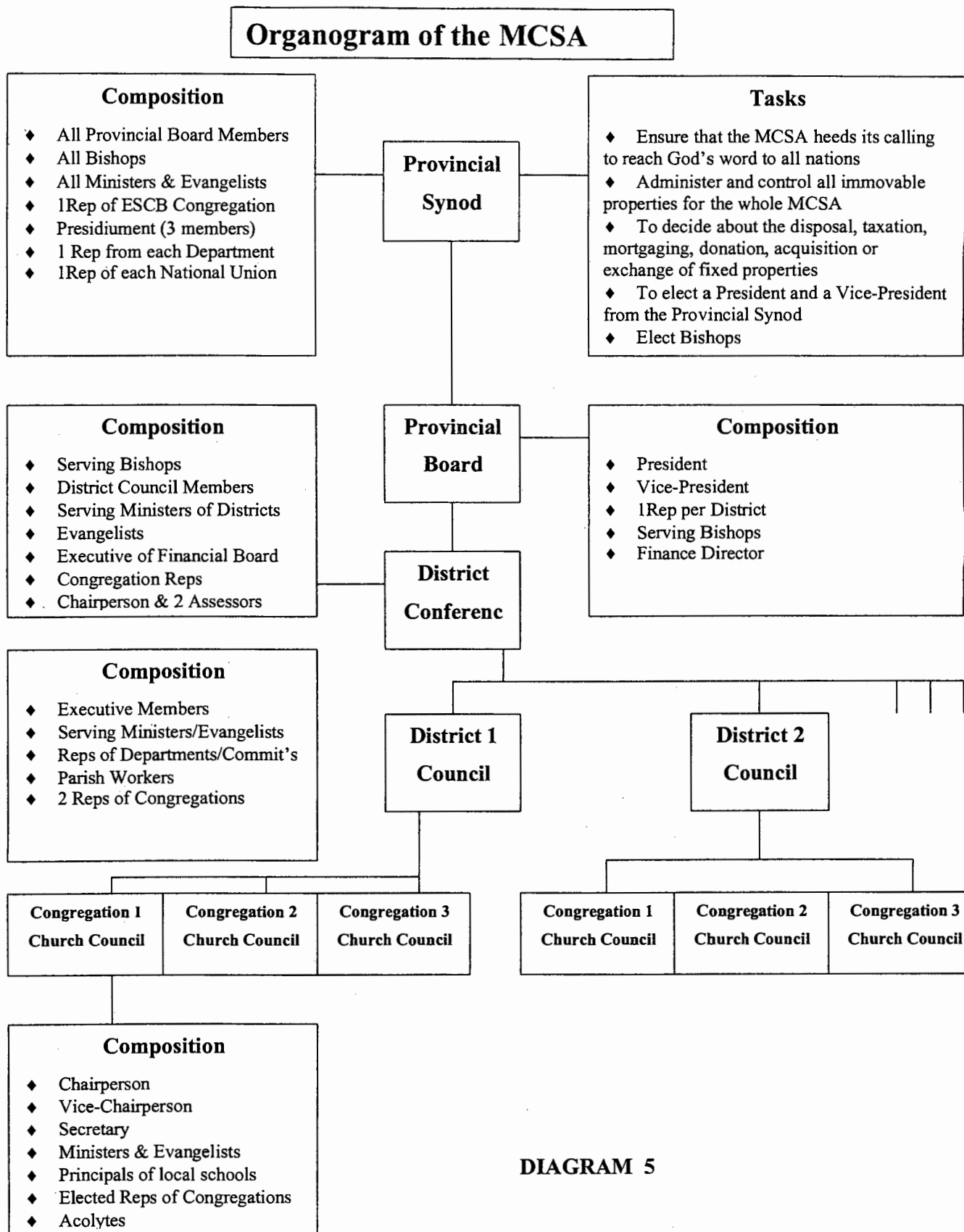
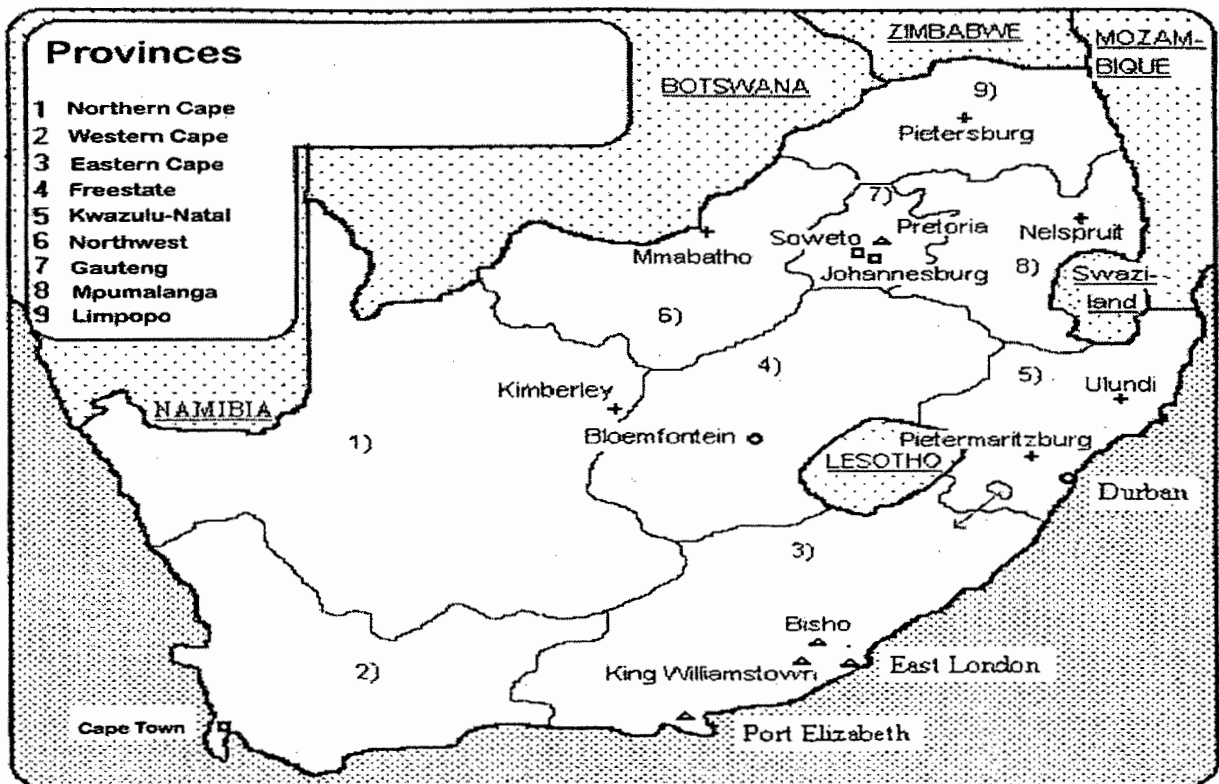


DIAGRAM 5

ADDENDUM C: Maps

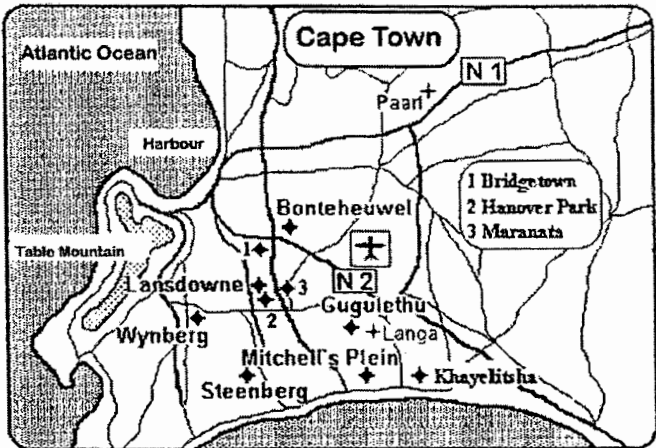
(All maps based on design by E Bucholt, I Schiewe & A Joemath)

Republic of South Africa since 1994



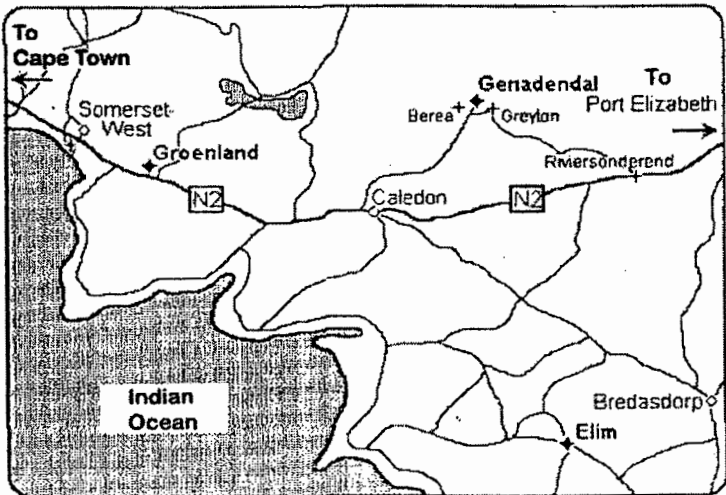
Map 1

District 3



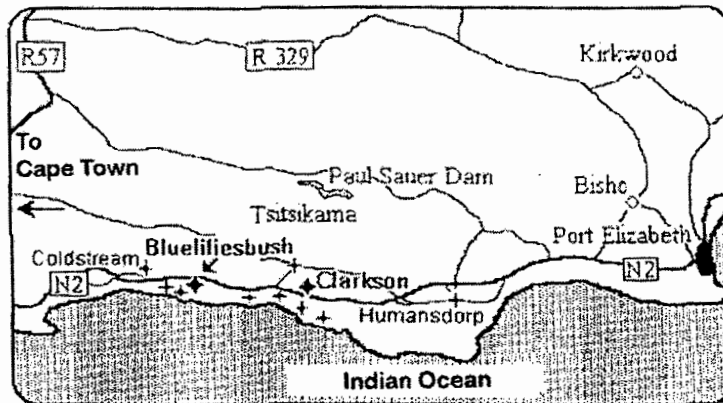
Map 3.3

District 4



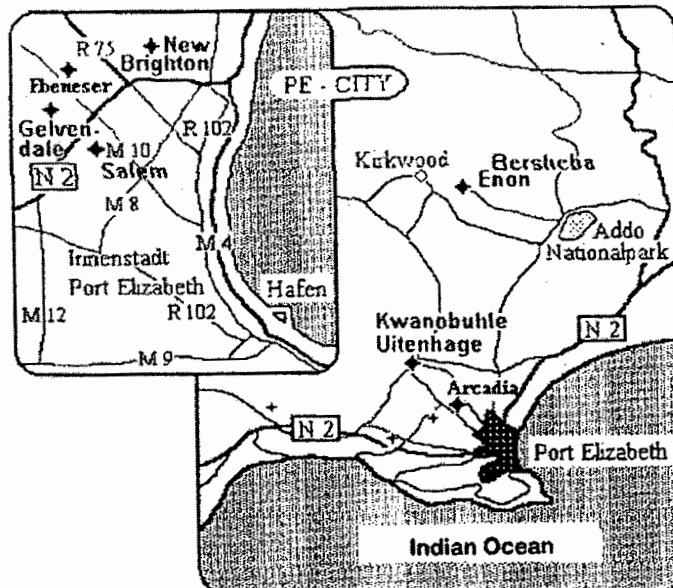
Map 3.4

District 5



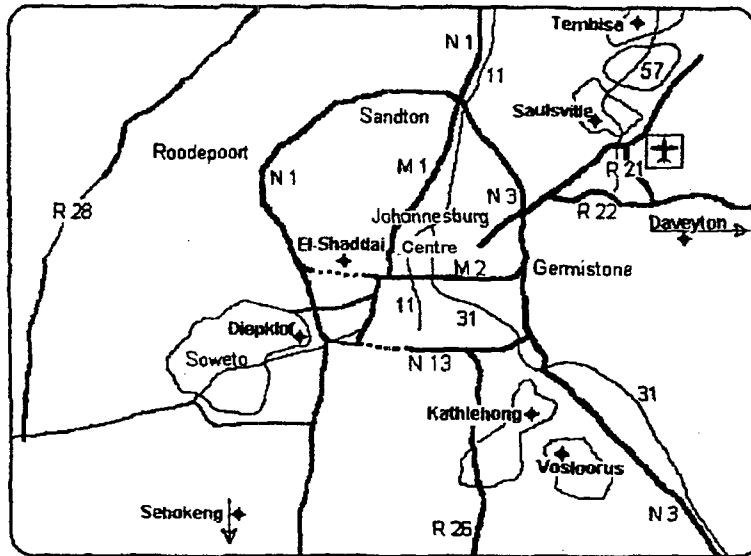
Map 3.5

District 6



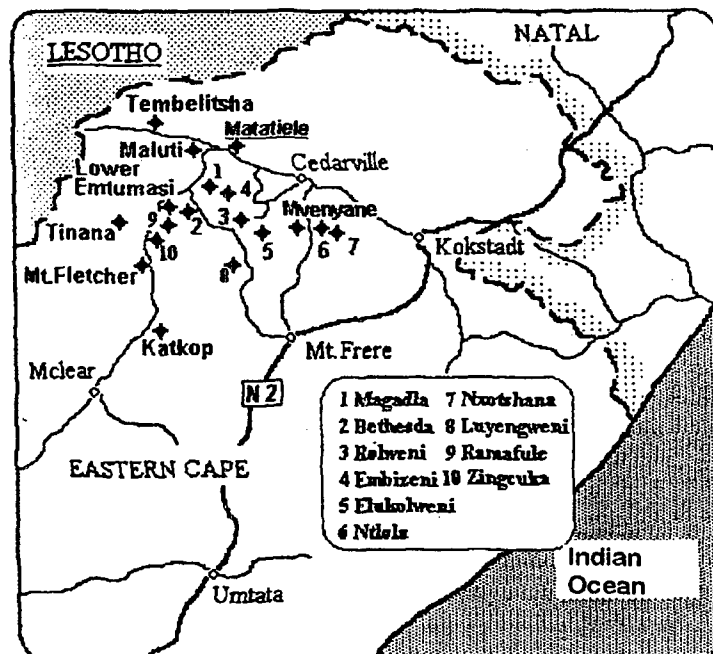
Map 3.6

Rand District (7)



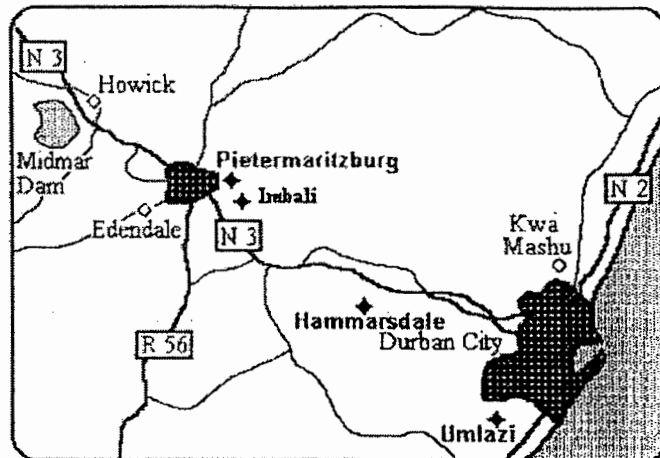
Map 3.7

Maluti District (8)



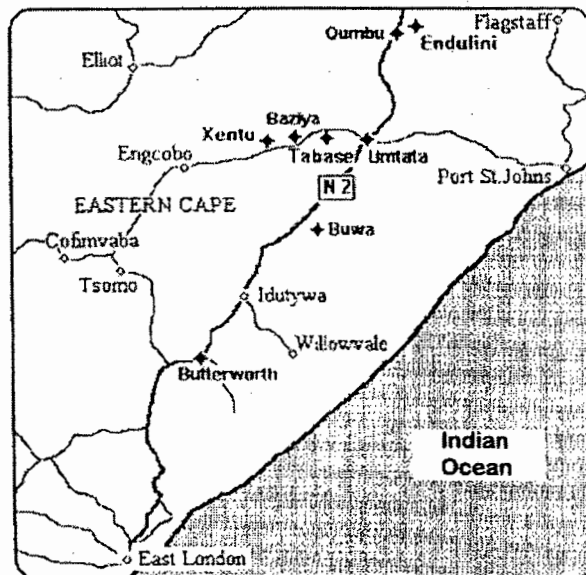
Map 3.8

Natal District (9)



Map 3.9

Umtata District (10)



Map 3.10

Ciskei District (11)



Map 3.11

ADDENDUM D: The portrait of the “First Fruits”

(Portrait borrowed from Hickel, 1981)



Kibbido is the male on the far right, draped in sheepskin with a palm branch (indicative of the Victorious Lamb) in his hand.

